Als Geisel nach Siberia verschleppt

As a hostage deported to Siberia

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Dedicated to my brave wife.

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Vorwort

A hundred times I have asked myself the question, whether I [schon jetzt], while the cannons still thunder, and all of the people of Europe [Stimmungen durchfluten], [die] to [fassen] and in words to [übertragen die Sprache] not [reich] and not [schöpferisch] enough is, with a [Einzelschicksal] before the [Öffentlichkeit treten soll]. Yes and no [hielten sich so ziemlich die Wage]. I said no, so often the personal experience, the physical and [psychische Qual] only myself and a few [Schicksalsgenossen] to [betreffen schienen]. I [gab] to me a [entschlossenes] yes as the answer, so often before me [jene] interesting [Gestalten] again [auftauchten], [denen] I during my length [Wanderung] through the dungeons and prisons of Russia and Siberia [begegnete]. What you [an ihnen] have observed and what you, [von Berufs wegen] with a [feineren Gehör] and a [schärferen Gesicht begabt], in the [dunkelsten] Russia, that from time to time by glaring spotlight ***[10]*** [erhellt wurde], [wahrgenommen] have, does not belong to you alone: give it [getrost] to paper!

A yes also however received Sukkurs von außen. A few excerpts that I published in the “Neuen Freien Presse”, found such strong and resonant interest among the large circles of readers of this paper that I was asked to do so from many quarters, a zusammenfassende Darstellung of my experiences to bieten. A journalist, who the Kriegsschicksal gerade vor a solche enemy front gestellt hat, dürfe not remain silent and dürfe himself also not be content with fits of talkativeness of a small circle of friends open his heart.

Thus I wrote this little book. It does not contain everything that I have experienced and seen, for much mußte I aus begreiflichen Gründen now verschweigen. Es erhebt auch not den Anspruch, ein

sogenanntes literarisches Werk to sein, and wendet sich not exclusively to the Feinschmecker of the deutschen Schrifttums, das, auch im blutgedüngten Boden dieses Krieges wurzelnd, so herrliche Blüten gezeitigt hat. Wenn ***[11]*** my book sich [auf einen Vorzug berufen darf, so is it der: It is by the [Blutwärme of the [Selbsterlebten durchflossen] and betrifft Vorgänge, that sich in these times of the Aufgebotes of millions indeed only a small Schar of Kämpfern offenbarten. Das sind the Titel, unter denen sich this work a [bescheidenes Plätzchen among the so numerous documents [zur Zeitgeschichte erwerben will].

The Author

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Die Russen-Invasion in Czernowitz

On 2 September 1914 the Russians entered Czernowitz.

Where is this city located, and what significance does it have in the current [Wechselfällen of the peoples-struggle?

War reports are useful as geography lessons in primary [?] and middle schools. Every central European who reads newspapers now knows where Czernowitz is located. He also already knows, that this city formed for more than a year the [Angelpunkt] of a long front, which through the [wuchtigen] advance of the central powers during the summer of 1915 had lost its concave shape and [vor the Offensive Brussiloffs] from Riga until to the [knapp] behind Czernowitz situated [Dreistaatenecke] ran almost in a straight line.

Also this city Russia protested for itself. It lay in Red Russia and is a Russian city. For this fiction the Russian's sacrificed during the autumn of 1914 the [vernünftige] strategy and entered a city that their front [auseinanderzog] and offered their troops no strong point. City and village occupy, "conquer" however appears the battle-cry of the Russian army-of-millions to have been, and thus ***[16]*** so too fell Czernowitz victim to the Russian invasion. Whether the Austrian [Strategen = strategists ?] back then the Russians [gewähren ließen], because they too few troops had, in order this [Nebenkriegsschauplatz dauernd] to hold, or whether the [einstweilige Preisegebung] of Bukowina with in general [Plane lag], the Russians against the walls [?] Carpathian slowly to [zermürben] and eliminate: I do not know. This, however, every I know for certain: Czernowitz has for Austrian more significance than [irgendeine beliebige] city in the East and comes not alone as the capital city of the Monarchy's eastern province [in Betracht]. During the war it became the [Pivot] of a long front, which was by the iron fist of the [verbündeten] Central Powers [festgehalten]. Long indeed but was Czernowitz the [Angelpunkt] of a cultural front, of the cultural [Bewußtseins] of Central Europe. Emperor Joseph the Second had the [wilden] Turkish [Winkel] still while [Thronfolger] and co-regent of his imperial mother from the [Pforte erworben], because he, with strong political instincts as militaristic [begabt], [vorausahnte], that out of this small land would [einmal] a [geschmeidiger Reifen herausbilden], [dazu bestimmt], the apparently [losen Teile] of the Danube [eckens] and Subcarpathia firmly enough to [umfassen]. In ***[17]*** the gradual transformation of Austria into a [Nationalitätenstaat] remained the Bukowina a [„historische Individualität"] in the true sense of the often misunderstood word; and after the [Umgestaltung], which brought with it the [Austritt] of Austria from the [Deutschen Bund], in

particular after the [vollständigen Polonisierung] of Galicia, took over the little Bukowina on the [vereinsamten sarmatisch-karpathischen Posten] the task, Austria's historical mission, which through higher historical [Notwendigkeiten], primarily through the unification of Germany under Prussia leadership, was [etwas unsanft beiseite geschoben] [worden], in however very [bescheidenem Umfange fortzusetzen]. Bukowina became one of the [Ostmark] "Central Europe", and when at about that time, 1875, the German university in Czernowitz was established, viewed the [eben] to stronger national [Eigenleben] awakening Rumanians and Ruthenians of the land/country in this higher institution a [posthumen] attempt at Germanization of the central government of Austria. They [irrten], as in many other things, also [darin]. The Czernowitz university became despite its [durchaus] German character [zur eifrigsten Förderin] of the nationalities in Bukowina. While untilthen all [Beamten] ***[18]*** [Hilf] academic [Bildung] out of the German-Austrian west came, [bildete] the [eigene] university in the Rumanian and Ruthenian lands [heran], which quickly all [Ämter] occupied, without their strong [Nationalbewußtsein] also only a moment [aufzugeben].

This fortunate mixture of [Eigenkultur] and in [solchem Belangen anationaler], middle European/German [Lehr- and Erziehungstätigkeit] owes Bukowina and owes in the [erster Reihe] Czernowitz the [Zauber], [den] it above all [Fremden Halle]. It is no German, no Rumanian, no Ruthenian and Polish city, Czernowitz is Austrian. It is neither architecturally, nor culturally burdened by traditions and is out of the [Tiefinnersten] of the Austrian [Wesens entstanden] and [emporgeblüht]. During the [Übernahme] of the Bukowina into the Austrian [Verwaltung] a [armseliges] [türkisch-moldauisches] village, grew Czernowitz [empor], quick and despite the lack of industrial and [Großhandelsressourcen] almost/practically in an American manner — in the [Sarmatische übenragen]. Czernowitz is outwardly certainly nothing to behold, but its history [läßt] the [wechselseitigen] influence of the races [?] and [Bekenntnisse in a manner of [Reinkultur studieren] and the [wohltätige Wirkung] ***[19]*** of the without [Waffengewalt] conquering Austrian Germandom felt. [Selbstverständlich not [gerade now, while the cannons [dröhnen] and the city its difficult [Kriegsschicksale durchmacht], rather in peacetime, if the [latenten] cultural forces of this city again into action are, if the window to the west again is completely opened and the neighboring states again [einsehen], that the cultural mission that Austria is the [erfüllt], all [Bedürfnissen] of a [aufstrebenden] populace [entspricht], and so-called national titles, [gewaltsam deduziert] out of the [Ländergier] power-hungry diplomats, also then [versagen], if to this [Zerrtitel sich zeitweilig] the [rohe Gewalt gesellt].

The little Bukowina, which has become one of the [festen

Schraube] on Austria's periphery and indirectly also Central Europe, and the already through its [Völkergemisch] (Germans and throughout German-speaking Jews, Rumanians, Ruthenians, Poles, yes even Magyars and Russians [Großrussen]) a miniature picture of Austria offers and so the [Wesen] of Austria [versinnbildlicht], will after this was still more become, that it up until now was Austria, which since 1867 in the [kein erfreuliches] picture [bietenden Übergangs- ***[20]*** stadium] of its [Neuwerdens sich] therewith [begnügte], the lands on the eastern periphery by a quiet [Wellenring] of the central cultural movement [erfassen to lassen], must and — I heard it from a few [Staatsmännern] at least say — will after the war more energetic [zugreifen] and to the East [jene] [Aufmerksamkeit zuwenden], that until now almost exclusively to the southeast [galt]. After the [furchtbaren Heimsuchungen], which the eastern lands, and in particular their urban populations, [ausgesetzt] were, will this territory like a [neuerworbenes] and [besonderer Pflege bedürftiges] in a [Schutzzone einrücken], in which it should actually have had already long ago belonged.

What I here over the political structure of my immediate homeland cursory and only [andeutungsweise] have said, is not without [Zusammenhang] with the account that follows. Already long before the war had the attempt been undertaken, in this territory, in which the Austrian [Mensch] himself could good [entfalten], [Bresche to schlagen]. The great [Irrtum] by Russia and her allies, that Austria is ripe for partition, [führte to jenen Unterminierungsversuchen], that the future [Glacis] of the great war, Galicia and the Bukowina, should make [sturmreif]. Russia's [Kriegskosten] [müssen um jene] ***[21]*** not [unbeträchtlichen] amounts higher [veranschlagt werden], [welche] to Galicia and Bukovina still in peacetime [wunderten, um] the "Russophilia", which in the by the Russian [Konsuln] and [Militärbevollmächtigten geleiteten, weitverzweigten] espionage [?] [ihren stärksten Exponenten] found, to the [festen Untergrund] of the future ["Dampfwalze"] to make. Czernowitz is a border city, and [ihr galt] obviously the special [Aufmerksamkeit jener] semi-official Russia [Kreise], which, with [Staatsmitteln] more than [reichlich versehen], for the [Vermeidung allzu heftiger] diplomatic [Reibungen] the espionage [?] and the agitation in the greater and in the smaller [auf sich nahmen]. If one as [Kenner] of the conditions want to be [genau], must one say, that the success in [keinem richtigen Verhältnisse] to the [aufgewandten Mitteln stand]. The two brothers Gerowski, young fanatics, who were considerably encumbered by Russophilia, already with the [Muttermilch Vaterlandsverrat eingesogen] had and gradually to paid Russian agents were [herabgesunken], from whom the [anständigen Elemente sachte abrückten] — these Gerowskis formed the [Hauptgewinn] of the Russian propaganda. They became, after out of an in Hungary [durchgeführten Hochverratsprozcß] their

[Mitschuld hervorgekom- ***[22]*** men] was/had, arrested, however escaped, and about two months before the outbreak of war, out of the Czernowitz prison and in a few short hours reached the vicinity of the Russian border, where they their [Martyrium], after the outbreak of war, however, their Russian patriotism not without [Gewinn] put on display.

Wherefore do I mention all of this? I believe myself on an inner [Zusammenhang] [berufen to können]. Who Austria's mission in the East [so auffaßte], as I it in the previously briefly outlined, and who, as I, for twenty years in this city [publizistisch] active was, must be thereupon prepared, also without a soldier's uniform to the invading Russians appear to be an enemy.

Nevertheless I remained in Czernowitz. At the outbreak of war I had [Mut] and [Ausdauer öffentlich verlangt] and also from the civil population [kategorisch gefordert], [sie möge] in their Austrian mission as [Grenzbevölkerung] also in war [ausharren], so that I would have [empfunded] it as [Treubruch] the poor populace, who were not in the position to flee toward the center of the Empire, to leave in a lurch. My wife was active with the Red Cross and remained committed to her office/position. Thus it came, that I experienced at home ***[23]*** two weeks of Russian rule. About these two weeks have I [genaue Aufzeichnungen geführt], which belong to the local historians. [An dieser Stelle] will I only a few moments [hervorheben], which, out of the [Gedächtnisse wiedergegeben], to me in this [Zusammenhangs] seem to be worth relating.

On the 23 August 1914 [lieferte] an Austrian Landsturm brigade the Russians, which part of their South Army — [Odessaer Militärkreis] — [an die] later so often [genannte bessarabische] front had advanced, between Mahala and Ararancze, eight kilometre away from Czernowitz, a victorious engagement. The people of Czernowitz observed with binoculars [?] from a [Rande] of the city situated [Hutweide] [out] the course of the battle. During the evening of the same day were about six hundred Russian prisoners, the first that one [to Gesicht bekam] were escorted through the city. The first [Anschlag] against Czernowitz had been repelled. But already one week later the populace was during the night through frightening detonations roused out of sleep. As a result of [erhaltenen Auftrages] were the three bridges that spanned the Pruth, demolished. One hour later, the day was just dawning, the Landsturm set off into the [Hinterland]. Behind ***[24]*** them [ergoß sich] in a chaotic flight a large part of the populace.

A further half-week passed, however, before the Russians gave thought to a „victorious“ [Einmarsch]. They knew, that the bridges had been demolished, however feared a [Falle]. During these three days we began to prepare ourselves for the [Fremdherrschaft]. We organised a citizen guard and took an inventory of the

[zurückgebliebenen] foodstuffs. From the city hall tower [aus] we held lookout of the region, through which the Russians would have to march. We saw them coming. [Vorerst] in in small troops on foot and mounted. Then reported one of [?] the first to fall victim to them. A village Jew came to the mayor's office. He could not report anything because his tongue had been cut out. [Überdies] the ten fingers of his hands were missing. His daughter, a young girl, [führte ihn] and [erzählte], that the first Cossack patrols immediately with the in the border region [vorhandenen bäuerlichen Mob ins Einvernehmen gesetzt hätten] and now moved through the villages plundering, robbing, burning, and murdering. The first [Segnungen] of Russian culture. The civic guard took a prisoner. A Cossack had swum across the Pruth ***[25]*** and had with [sicherem] instincts found a [Schnapsbude], in which he drank himself senseless. In this condition was he taken prisoner.

On 2 September, a Wednesday, [stürzte] the [Diener] of the city magistrate breathless into my [Wohnung]. The mayor [lasse mich bitten]; the Russians [hätten] a [Parlamentär] sent. I [ließ] my [midday meal], which just [aufgetragen wurde], untouched and betook myself to the city hall. The mayor was already waiting for me before the perron. A young lad, who held a white flag in hand, was from the Russians, who were [stationed] on the opposite side of the Pruth, had been sent to the city. The lad, whose father by the Russians as [Sicherheit als Pfand] had been taken, [überbrachte] a letter, which was written half in Russians and half in an [unmöglichen] German. In case one the city not [gutwillig übergebe], it would be leveled to the ground. The adjutant of the [Kommandierenden] awaited the [Vertrauensmänner] of the city at the sugar factory.

The mayor asked that I to ride with them. We immediately got in a [bereitstehende Stadtequipage] and rode in our [Straßenanzügen] ***[26]*** to the Pruth [hinaus]. We did not want to make a show out of the sad situation. We drove until the river, then we [rutschten] across the in the middle [geknickte] bridge. The Zuczka train station was already occupied by the Russians. A young officer, who was surrounded by Jewish soldiers, who apparently due to their knowledge of German the/as translators [abgeben sollten], came to us by the sugar factory toward us. The young man had [offenbar] on tiresome/boring and high diplomatic negotiations [gerechnet] and [spreizte sich] a little. We [strichen] to him the scene/situation [zusammen]. To the by a soldier posed question in German, whether we the city [gutwillig übergeben] wished/wanted, I replied, turning to the officer, in Russian: "Our troops have pulled back, the city is in your control/power; a ceremonial transfer we consider to be [überflüssig]." Then the mayor [hinzufügte] in the German language: "We hope, that your troops, if they enter into our city, will treat the civilian population, who are peaceful and not aggressive, well." Still a couple [nichtssagende

Höflichkeitsphrasen] were exchanged, whereupon we us after five minutes [verabschiedeten]. The adjutant [erklärte], [alles wortgetreu] of his general over ***[27]*** [Mitteln] to [wollen]. We drove back to the city, the populace [füllte] in [lautloser Erregung] in [dichten] groups the main street.

No sooner had I returned to my [Wohnung], when it was reported to me, that the citizens of the neighbouring city of [Sadagora] urgently desired to speak with me. I bid them to enter. [Todesangst] was in the faces of the poor Jews to read. Cossacks had come to their city and laid waste to it. They related about the frightful plundering, abuses, and murder. My wife, who is a native of Russia and speaks fluent Russian, immediately resolved to accompany me to Sadagora. We drove to the Pruth bridge. Behind us ran in a long row the poor [Sadagorer]. At the bridge [anschloß sich] us a [Reichsdeutscher], who in the Bukowina a large [Sägewerk] owned, and who despite the impending Russian incursion with [aufrichtiger] enthusiasm talked about the great days which we were now experiencing/living...

On the opposite side of the Pruth we had gone for a short while on foot, when we the Cossacks already riding toward us enveloped in a massive dust cloud. [Wie schritten ihnen entgegen]. It was a [grauenerregende] group. [Schmierige] fellows in long ***[28]*** [Kaftanen], seated upon shaggy little horses — the [wahre Tataren-Einfall]. Despite the fact that my wife wore the [Tracht] of a Red Cross sister, [wurden freche Rufe laut]. We did not worry ourselves about these [Zurufe] and continued farther along the [Straßengraben], until we the regiment's commander [ansichtig wurden]. My wife [trat vor]. The Cossack colonel's horse [bäumte sich], the colonel crying out [unwillig]: "What do you want here?" My wife replied: "I want to inform you here and now, that your Cossacks are robbing, murdering, and plundering in Sadagora." The colonel [richtete sich auf] the horse which had again become calm [kerzengerade auf] and said sharply: "That is not true!" The officer, who next to the colonel [rode], was the same, with whom we about the surrender of the city had negotiated. He learned over to his superior and whispered to him, [auf mich weisend], something in the ear. In the meantime my wife repeated her [Behauptungen] and added: "In this way the army of an [Kulturstaates] does not [einruecken]." The colonel seemed [besänftigt] to be and said: "There is nothing I can do now, for my orders are to enter Czernowitz with my regiment, I will, however, immediately send out a patrol from there to Sadagora." He kept ***[29]*** his word, and in Sadagora for the next two days it was again calm.

Then the enemy entered. No [Ruf] was in the street [laut]. The Cossack officer [lüfteten] with [Schwung] their [Pelzmützen], here and there was the [Gruß erwidert]. General Artutinow, a very corpulent and perspiring gentleman, [aufforderte], when he had finished his

speech before the city hall, the [Publikum], on the [geheiligte] person of the Tsar, for who he this fine city herewith took possession, a cheer [auszubringen]. [Doch] all [schlichen] from doing so. The Cossacks broke out in [wilde Rufe] and their band played the Russian national anthem. In the city hall [saale], where soon afterward the further negotiations over the [Kontribution, Verpflegung] of the Russian troops, [Stellung von Geiseln], and [dergleichen] more took place, received I my first warning, how it to me under the the Russians [ergehen könnte]. A Cossack captain [aufforderte] me to remove the Emperor's picture from the wall. I declined to do so: "If it is an act of heroism, then you have [ja the Gelegenheit to distinguish yourself, [besorgen] it yourself!" The captain reached for his revolver in order to gun me down, but at this moment I turned around to a lieutenant-colonel, by the ***[30]*** [Geräusch] attention drawn, and [zog] the captain with the words: ["Laß das!"] [weg]. The [Vorfall] was much talked about, however was soon forgotten. Longer was spoken about the [entschiedenen Weigerung] of the Metropoliten Dr. von Repta, out of [Anlaß] of the arrival of the Russians a [Dankgottesdienst to veranstalten].

From the [stachen Land] ever new reports filtered in [?] about theft, arson, and plundering. Still [gaben sich] the Russian [Befehlshaber Mühe], to come across as cultured people, but how did they [wollten] the [Ural-Kosaken, Kirgisen, Jazygen, Petschenegen] to hold in [Zaume]? They [harren reichlich] to do, in order the [Durchmärsche] to mask, the same troops during the day to the south and at night to the north part of the city to [führen], for they [schienen sich] not quite feel secure/certain. Then they published proclamation upon proclamation: to the Poles, the Romanians, the Jews, [fttedlich-säuselnde and pogromhast-drohende]. In the city hall, where the mayor [mannhaft] and [gütig zugleich unermüdlich] his office and [darüber hinaus waltete], was a continuous coming and going. The Cossacks had a [wachen Heißhunger], [der gratis gestillt sein wollte]. Requisition upon requisition, but no payment, ***[31]*** [zumeist] also no [Bestätigung]. The mayor [beriet sich] with a few [Vertrauensmännern], to which I also belonged, and sought with all peaceful means [?] the [Bestie] to [zähmen, zugleich] however also the quickly [um sich] [greifenden Not] of the civil population to [steuern]. We had no [Bargeld] and gave out [Etadlscheine], [buken bread for the poor, established [Teehallen] and worked twenty hours a day; for it gave still more to do, when all Russian [Forderungen] to [erfüllen]. I [bereute] no moment, [geblieben to be, [obgleich sich das Herz] by the from the Russians [verbreiteten Meldungen] about the course of the war [zusammenschnürte]. [Wiederholt] could I in [aller Stille bereits verhaftete] and to the [Kriegsgericht bestimmte] people [so or anders] the Russian [entreißen]. One lived as though in a [ewigen Fieberschauer], had however a [vervielfältigte Spannkraft in sich

selbst zur Verfügung]. My eyes rarely closed to sleep, for in the couple of hours, that to me [übrig geblieben], I secretly read Vienna newspaper [s ?] smuggled in via Rumania, or heard with beating heart [auf] distant gunshots [Am Ende kommen] the [Unserigen] again. ***[32]***

Arrested

One day, it was the 14 September, I was informed that the Gerowski brothers had returned to Czernowitz. This gave me a [Ruck], but I thought not about dangers, that to me personally could threaten. I felt myself [von] on [Empörung durchzittert] about an enemy, who his paid agents and spies as [Machthaber] sent to the occupied city. Already on the next day [brachte] the [Gewißheit], that the Gerowskis their rage-campaign against the good Austrian [Gesinnten], who had [sich] in [hervorragender Stellung befanden, eingeleitet]. A former [Landesgerichtsrat], who later in the [Advokatenstand übertrat], Dr. Hakman, who to the pro-Russian old Ruthenian party belonged, but from this was [abgerückt], when the Gerowskis out of the party a [Russengesellschaft schlechtweg] wanted to make, [einweihte] the mayor and myself in the plans of the Gerowskis. Dr. Hakman was entirely [verstört], when he, after a visit, which one of the Gerowskis had made, to us came. We had to him [strengstes Stillschweigen zusagen], for Gerowski had to him under [Todesstrafe] forbidden, [irgend etwas] to [verraten]. The ***[33]*** plan [bestand darin], the mayor out of his office [gewaltsam to entfernen], and him, Dr. Hakman himself, to make the mayor. Dr. Hakman was [verzweifelt]. We consoled him and asked/suggested that he accept the office. We knew Dr. Hakman as a [rechtschaffenen] and [verläßlichen] man, who us in the first two weeks of the Russian invasion important and [uneigennützige] duties/services had performed, and repeatedly asked him therefore most urgently, to the plans of the Gerowskis [eingehen]. We [würden] to him [schon bekunden], that that he only to the [Zwange gehorchend] and in the interests of Austria [zugestimmt habe]. Dr. Hakman was, however, to the [Amtsübernahme] not be compelled, and we looked difficult times [entgegen]. Then arrived still on the same day the to the civil governor of Czernowitz named/appointed Vice-Governor Iewreinow from Kischinew, and it appeared as if [sich] the latter the Gerowskis not [unterwerfen] wanted. Herr Iewreinow [ließ] namely still on the same evening the few in [offizieller Stellung befindlichen Stadtvertreter] — I did not find myself among them — to [sich] [kommen], [hielt an] them a [feierliche] speech and [apostrophierte sodann] the mayor with these words: “I do not wish that [sich] in the [bisherigen Verwaltung] ***[34]*** somewhat [ändert], and [ersuche] you, [nach wie vor] the [Stadtgeschäfie] to conduct.” Then spoke the man also/still something of the [Segnungen] of a modern administration, which he — he

brought it [zuwege], this all without a [Anflug] of irony to [verkünden] — after Russian [Muster] and in the Slavic spirit [gehandhabt] [wissen wolle]. The mayor, who me still in the [vorgerückter] evening hour sought out, told me the content of the [Besprechung wortgetreu], and it seemed [somit] the danger of a [Gerowskischen Willkür] rule [beseitigt] to be. The [Herr] Vice-Governor, who for his [echtrussisches Verhalten] later, when the Russians were finally chased out of Czernowitz, to the Governor of Samara was named/appointed, had however [gelogen], when he spoke [davon], that he wanted to change nothing. For still in the same night five men were arrested [?], and among these five men was also the mayor. The arrest order had already been issued by Iewreinow when he had made his [salbungsvolle] speech.

At about 1:30 o'clock a.m. I was awoken by way of an hefty [Gepolter]. I sat up in bed and listened [hinaus]. My wife, who was likewise awoken, turned on the electric light and said: ***[35]*** "In the [Stiegenhause] are footsteps [hörbar]." At the same moment my mother was also already [entering] our [Schlafgemach] and crying out in fright: "Russian soldiers have occupied all of the doors that open to the outside." I went to the window and opened the curtains. Two Russian soldiers could be seen [auf] the around the [Innenmauer] of the house [führenden Galerie] before the window. At the same time all of the electric [Glocken] in the house began to ring. A [rauhe] voice called from outside: "Open immediately or we will smash down the door!" There was no doubt, this nocturnal visit was for my sake. I called out, that I would [gleich] open, however first ran [spornstreichs] through several rooms to my [Arbeitsstube], where on the desk, still [aufgeschlagen], the journal lay, in which I at night all of the [Eintragungen] over my [Wahrnehmungen] had made. I brought the book [in Sicherheit] and then ran quickly to the door and opened it. The young officer had just the door [order ?] [erteilt], the door "to break down/in".

Now he entered with [vorgehaltenem] revolver, behind him [drängten sich] several soldiers, who brought their rifles [in Anschlag]. The [Beschluß machte] a [Bürgerwehrmann], who the officer had forced to go along, and who ***[36]*** shook like an [Espenlaub]. "What do you want with me?" I asked. The officer, a clean-shaven/beardless little chap with a [schmalem] face, out of which two water-blue little eyes [halb scheu, halb stechend] [hervorblickten], asked, whether I was the by him sought after Dr. Philipp Menczel. I said yes. „Then I arrest you [im Aufträge] of the Governor!" "Very well," I said, "may I know why you are arresting me, and where you intend to take me?"

"I do not know," was the answer from the officer, and this answer [bekam] I [immer wieder] to hear, as often I in the next five minutes a question to him directed. [Bloß] five minutes gave me

namely the man, who in the one hand the revolver, in the other the clock/watch held, [um] me to get ready. I got dressed and [trat] still quickly before the mirror, in order my hair in order to bring. The officer [abwehrte] it with the words: [“Das haben Sie now not mehr nötig.”]

During these five minutes my mother stood there like a statue, staring at me with [burning] eyes and made not a move. My wife showed no fear. The face of my mother, however, was from [Leichenblässe überzogen]. When I kissed her farewell, her lips were ***[37]*** ice cold, and she said not a word; my wife hugged me and said aloud in Russian: “[Sei guten Mutes], nothing will happen!” I felt, how she [bemühte] herself, in her voice a calm tone to [bringen]. The soldiers walked with me in the middle, the officer drew his sword, and thus I was led away.

Whereto? I did not know, but I was calm and [auf alles gefaßt]. [Mancherlei] indeed went through mind. [So machte I mir Vorwürfe], that I a few points in my [Testament] not [geändert hätte], but [Angstgefühls] did not overcome me. I [vornahm mir sogar], the gentlemen from the Russian [Kriegsgericht], before which I would be [wahrscheinlich stellen würde], a few [hübsche Wahrheiten] to say. About this I was happy. The joy was [allerdings] short lived. It was [jäh] interrupted by the [grausamen Sorge], which me because of the defenseless [zurückgebliebenen nächsten Angehörigen erfaßte].

The officer [herbeirief] a wagon. In diesen ließ er mich einsteigen and setzte sich to mir. Zwei Soldaten nahmen auf dem Gegensitz, the Bürgerwehrmann auf dem Bock neben dem Kutscher Platz, a young Cossack followed on horse. “To the Franzensgasse!” the officer commanded, after he on the at a piece of paper, which he ***[38]*** removed from a pocket, a [Blick geworfen] had [?]. Before the house at Franzensgasse 34 [we] came to a stop. The house stood there is complete darkness, and I could me [garnicht erklären], wherefore here [Station gemacht wurde]. The officer got out, [ihm folgten auf Geheiß both of the soldiers and the [Bürgerwehrmann]. I remained behind alone in the waggon. The officer knocked on a ground floor window. No answer. The officer began to ever stronger to scream and [einschlug] with the saber the [Scheiben] of the window. Now [wurde] out of the [Souterrain] a woman’s voice [laut]. “Der Schlag soll euch treffen!” said the lady, then she opened a small window, [fuhr beim Anblick of the Russian entsetzt zurück and disappeared. Now the soldiers broke down/in the house-door and entered. The officer, who with the [Bürgerwehrmann] followed, turned around and called to the Cossack, with the hand [auf mich weisend]: “If he makes a move, shoot him!” Then he disappeared into the [Hausflur]. I put my hand in my coat pocket, in order my [Zigarettendose] to pull out. Thereby I naturally made a movement and [rührte] myself perhaps [um two Zoll] from my place. In this moment the Cossack [drängte] his horse in

order several ***[39]*** [Schritte] to the rear [?], [anlegte] his carbine, aimed at my head and pulled the trigger. A shot echoed through the stillness of the night. The horse [stampfte unruhig] and [wieherte]. The [Pulverdampf verzog sich], and I said [halblaut]: “I am still alive, [folglich hat er mich not gut getroffen.” Then I removed, by a [brenzligen] smell [veranlaßt], my soft [Filzhut] from my head, looked at it and realized that it had been on the upper [Rande] [gestreift] by the bullet. A [schmerzliches] went through me: “If I the [Meinen] somehow the news [übermitteln] can, that I am still alive,” I thought. “They must have heard the gunshot, we are [ja] just a hundred paces away from my [Wohnung]. What must they be thinking?“

The officer, whose attention was drawn by the gunshot, stepped out again onto the street. “For what reason did you shoot?” he asked the Cossack. “He moved,” was the answer. The officer laughed and said: “Dummy!” I turned around and [hinzufügte]: “I should be nervous, by the [Herr] Cossack is it [statt meiner].” The officer [hervorstieß] a quick, [brutales] laugh and went back into the house.

In December 1915, a week after my return to the homeland, I was the guest of an ***[40]*** Austrian general in Vienna. I related to him and his [Gemahlin] a few episodes out of the [Fülle] of my experiences, among them also about the shot fired by the Cossack.

The general’s wife, who had several sons in the field, wanted to know how I had felt when the Cossack took aim at me and fired. I replied:

“I will you, [gnädigste Frau], everything exactly [beschreiben], for the details are still clear to me before the eyes. However, in order not in the [Verdacht to kommen], that I [retrospektiven Mut to the besten gebe], will I first a [Geständnis ablegen]. I belonged while a student to a [schlagenden Verbindung] and [austrug] [wiederholt] [Säbelmensuren]. I was [zwar] not a first-rate [Fechter], [galt] however as [schneidig] and fearless. [Dennoch] before every [Mensur] I was stricken by [starkem] heartbeats. I [fürchtete] myself before the [Verstümmeltwerden]... When, however, the Cossack aimed at my head, I was completely calm and felt not the slightest fear. I cannot exactly say, whether it was [bloß] apathy, or whether by me the positive [Bewußtsein Besitz ergriffen] had, that one more blood-offering in this frightful struggle, also by the egocentric standpoint out [gesehen], ***[41]*** nothing meant. One thing [steht] for [mich fest]: I calmly looked at the Cossack, I [möchte beinahe] say, [erstaunt lächelnd] in the face and felt myself, when the shot was fired, almost [veranlaßt], with Andreas Hofer to cry out: [“Ach, how poorly you shoot!”]...

The officer returned with the soldiers and to the [Bürgerwehrmann]. They had a half hour long in all rooms of the house [herumgepoltert], the furniture pushed away and the [Dachboden] searched, but the [Gewünschte] or the [Gewünschten]

not found. Later I learned that the continuation of the [Razzia] the Czernowitz [Staatsanwalt-Stellvertreter] Dr. Premminger [gegolten] had. He was [kraft] of his office against the Gerowski brothers and other Russian agents [eingeschritten] and [sollte] it with [Verhaftung] and [Verschickung büßen], Dr. Premminger had, however, [sich] and his family [rechtzeitig] in [Sicherheit] brought.

Now the officer [verabschiedete] the [Bürgerpolizisten], got on the car with the two soldiers and rode with me farther. "Onward to Zuczka!" he called out to the [Kutscher] called.

To Zuczka? I quietly thought to myself. Then I answered the question for myself. I had heard something about this, that in Zuczka the Russian di- ***[42]*** visional HQ [hauste], [offenbar sollte] I there [abgeurteilt werden]. The possibility of being sent to Russia and Siberia came did not come to mind at the time]. The circumstances under which I had been arrested, [zuließen] only the [Deutung] of a [Kriegsgerichtes] and then death by firing squad or hanging.

Thus we then drove down the [abschüssige] street to the Pruth. Before the bridge we came to a stop. The wagon was sent back without payment, and silently we went, after the officer with the commander of the bridge-guard exchanged a few whispered words, across the [Notsteg], which the [geborstenen] parts of the bridge joined. On the other side of the Pruth the officer and soldiers searched in vain the route/road. They [irrten] between the wide/distant [Gleisanlagen] of the train station around, and the officer became increasingly angry. He [hervorstieß] each time a curse and was finally entirely [ratlos]. I maintained my silence between the two soldiers, more out of curiosity than fear. Finally the officer asked me the question, whether I knew where the Zuczka train station was located. I took over the lead, and after a few minutes we stood before the small, in the complete darkness [daliegenden] ***[43]*** [Aufnahmsgebäude]. On the first track [abhoben sich] unclear the [Umrisse] of a few railway cars out of the darkness. We went along the cars and finally reached a wagon/car, from which a faint [?] glow of light shimmered in the little window[s]. I looked in and discovered the Ruthenian [Reichsrats-Abgeordneten] Nikolaj Spenul sitting close to the window. I [stutzte] for a moment, then everything was clear to me. [Unliebsame] personages were being removed from Czernowitz. [Auf Geheiß] I boarded this car. An [abscheulicher] odour of sweating and [verdauenden] filthy soldiers, who were laying around on the benches and and on the floor, [schlug] [entgegen]. In the background of the [Abteils] I was presented with another unexpected sight. In a corner were huddled together: the mayor, Dr. Weißelberger and next to him the [Staatsanwalt] Lazarus. Opposite them sat next to the [Abgeordneten] Spenul the [Hofrat] of the [Ruhestandes] Dr. von Duzinkiewicz. The gentlemen saw me coming, whispered my name, and squeezed together in order to make room for me.

Who else [wohl] was still to come? ***[44]***

To Winnitza

No one else came. But the train stood still until the break of dawn without departing. The mayor was called to a [Nachbarkupee], from which loud voices could be heard. After ten minutes I was ordered to go there. The Pristaw of the Russian border station of Nowosielitza, who the Austrian [Reisenden] already during peacetime to [sekkieren pflegte], by me however by a similar attempt [schlecht weggekommen war], sat in this [Abteil] and measured me with [höhnischen] looks, when I entered. An officer posed to me the same question that he had already asked the mayor without success: whether I knew where the underground telephone from Czernowitz to the Austrian troops runs. I calmly replied: "I honestly don't know; but it goes without saying that I would not tell you if I did know." The officer [anschnauzte] me and let me leave. I returned to my companions. Two soldiers planted themselves before us and warned us not to speak.

In the morning light we saw that the car countless holes [aufwies], which the bullets [?] and ***[45]*** shrapnel had [eingeschlagen]. [Keuchend schleppte] the small machine the load/burden. It went on toward the Russian border, passing Sadagora, Mahala, and Bojan. Burned out houses and trampled wheat fields [erzählten] of the war and the battle, which three weeks earlier had taken place here. The train station in [Österreichisch-Nowosielitza] was a pile of rubble, while the one in [Russisch-Nowosielitza] stood there [unversehrt], even though the Austrians had [gewirtschaftet] there several weeks.

We detrained under the escort of the soldiers, went into the [Wartesaal], and there, after a short conversation, which between two [diensthabenden] officers [stattfand], the ladies restroom was assigned to us as a [Aufenthalt], where we would have to remain until further notice.

[So blieben we denn]. The door was left ajar, and two soldiers [faßten vor ihr Posto]. On the hour [?] they were relieved, and an officer with a [Raubvogelgesicht] appeared each time, in order to inspect/check over the [Magazine] in the guns. We received nothing to eat and and [also] did not was/want anything. The Russian passenger train had departed at about nine o'clock in the morning; the train station was devoid of people. ***[46]***

At about midday a [Gendarmerie] officer, who I still knew from peacetime, appeared, [since] he my [Reisegepäck] for books to search through [pflegte], sat himself at the small table, which stood in the washroom, produced a paper -- our arrest order -- and began to write something with a pencil on an empty page. I stood near to him and [warf wie von ungefähr] a peak at the arrest order. I could read our

names, then something that I not could not decipher, and finally I read the words: “Enemies of the Russian State, agitators [Heeresgewalt].” The *Rittmeister* — in Russian: *Rotmiester* — [anlächelte mich gutmütig], however I said nothing.

At about two o’clock in the afternoon we were [aufgefordert], to step out on the perron. Four soldiers took us [in ihre Mitte], and we went outside. On the [breitspurigen] Russian track stood a freight train, at the end of which a small third-class car had been attached. We got on this one with our guards], scheinbar bärbeißigen], wild chaps. They meant it however not [gar] to [böse] with us. Along the way they [zuschoben] us even a large piece of black bread and a [irdenen Topf], out of which massive [saure Gurken] ***[47]*** [herausragten]. [Obwohl] we had had nothing to eat for close to twenty-four hours none of us could [sich] [entschließen, zuzugreifen]. I sacrificed myself finally and [erwarb to me nebst unausbleiblichen Magenkrämpfen] the [sichtbare Wohlwollen] of the escort. This protected us against the attacks of a fanatical [Schaffners], who a few [Bäuerlein], who were riding with us, against the [verruchten] Austrians [aufzuwiegeln suchte], who in Czernowitz out of the windows had fired upon the Russian soldiers, and whose Emperor had secretly to the [Judentum übergetreten], [um sich] with the antichrist “Wilgelm” to the annihilation of the Christians to [verbünden]. In a [öden] station of the Bessarabian [Hügellandes] — it was called, if I remember correctly, Romankoutzy [Romankivsti ?] — allowed us the soldiers not only an hour wo walk back and forth in front of the car, [sondern mitteilten] also the spouse of the [Stationsvorstandes], who with sympathetic curiosity looked over at us, that we men of [Stand seien]. A [spontanen] telephone call by the lady had we to thank, that we in the large station in Oknitza, where [sich] the railroad forks, and where we a had stay of six hours, received an evening meal [gegen Entgelt], and in ***[48]*** a second class car a few hours allowed to relax/rest.

At about four o’clock in the morning it went onward in the direction of Schmerinka, the most important [Knotenpunkt] of the Russian [Südwestbahn]. Along the way were [bildeten] the [Gegenstand] of the [Neugier] of all the [Mitreisenden], were however no [besonderen Belästigungen ausgesetzt], for our escort detail held before the [Abteil treue Wacht] and only allowed [Fremden] with a [besonderes] request to peek through the door’s window. At about twelve o’clock noon we arrived in Schmerinka. The [mächtige] train station bustled with soldiers of all [Waffengattungen]. We were taken to the [Gendarmeriebüro], where an officer received us in the [Vorzimmer]. He read the arrest order, compared our faces with the numerous photos in the [Verbrecheralbum], which hung on the walls, and finally determined that we belonged to the Pristaw, which/who us to Winnitza [abzuschaffen hätte]. Wherefore we to Winnitza belonged

and for which reason we suddenly in the [Kompetenzkreis] of the police [hineingerieten], never became entirely clear to us. The Russian [Behörden] themselves, [wie] we [feststellen konnten], did not know either. [Wie dem auch sei], we [begaben] us with our ***[49]*** guards to the Pristaw. The soldiers had [sich] out of [mannigfachen Gründen] with us already to such an extent befriended, that along the way they asked us, we [möchten beim] Pristaw [vorstellig] become, [er solle sie] with the [weiteren] escort to Winnitza [betrauen]. The [lebhafte] children on the street, who followed behind us, the guard [abwehrten] [nach Kräften].

To the Pristaw was the [Fall] new. He read over the arrest order several times and finally came to the conclusion that he had to treat us as [Schieblinge]. "What have we [bei] the us so [ehrenvoll zugedachten Funktion] to do?" I asked. "Oh, that is very simple, you go the forty Werst long stretch to Winnitza on foot. I [expediere] you with my police until the next [Gemeinde]. There you will be arrested until the *Urjadnik* (village police) you further [abschiebt]. Thus can you finally after a week -- it could also become two or three -- in Winnitza arrive." The [Möglichkeit], us with the train to Winnitza to [schaffen] — the journey takes not much more than an hour — the Pristaw ruled out [von vornherein]. This [verstoße] against [Gesetz] and [Gewohnheit]. I [verhandelte] with the man further, and finally we [dahineinigten] us, ***[50]*** that we in a so-called omnibus, a [hohen Leiterwagen], which on both sides [Sitzbretter] had, under [Polizeibewachung] to Winnitza journey [sollten]. [Selbstverständlich] at our own expense. The mayor, who had been told when he had been arrested, that he [müsse] money take along, [verfügte] over a large sum in Austrian banknotes. The Pristaw [verabschiedete] now the soldiers, who with [betrübten] faces [davonzogen, ließ] a [Lohnfuhrwerker kommen], with whom he at first had a [Umerredung unter] four eyes, whereupon the Herr [Omnibus-Unternehme] from us for the [Beförderung] to Winnitza a [Lohn forderte, der], to a [Schandkurs in Kronen umgerechnet], a very tidy little [?] [ausmachte]. He [fügte hinzu]: "You must leave immediately, for the road/way is dreadfully poor, swampy, and filled with holes, and it will soon be night." The Pristaw [anhängte diesen Worten] the following, [tiefsinnig-strategische] remark: "Schimpft only not about our roads, they are our fortress, past which you cannot [in our land] not eindringen]." This [Ausspruch] did not surprise me, for on my travels, which during peacetime I had already made in Bessarabia and [Podolien] to Wagen], was it to me by the [Kutschern entgegengehalten worden], ***[51]*** if I expressed my [Unmut] about Russian streets.

Thus [hinausfuhren] we then at about four o'clock in the afternoon. At first was of the marsh nothing to notice. A [entsetzliches], through [wirre], [spitze] stones [zufällig entstandenes

Pflaster ließ] the from [hurtigen Pferdchen gezogenen] wagon a dance [aufführen], by which us sound and sight [verging]. We passed [through ?] a small village, then we drove toward a [Landstädtchen], which on a [mäßigen Anhöhe] in [ziemlich harter Nachbarschaft] two massive [?] churches in the [Land hineinragen ließ]. Based on the [Bauart] we could determine, that it [sich] [um] a Catholic and an Orthodox church [handle]. We asked about the name of the town. "Brailow", said one of the policemen [gleichmütig]. The [Staatsanwalt], however, who was sitting next to me, [emporfuhr], when the name Brailow was given, then he looked at me speechless for a minute, then finally [halblaut] mumbled:

"What do you have to say about this [merkwürdigen Sache]?"

It was also [sonderbar] enough. Three years [zuvor] took place namely before the Czernowitz [Schwurgericht] a [Monstreprozeß], which a full three weeks in [Anspruch nahm]. A few from Austria [stammende] individuals, who had resided in Russia at the time of the Russian ***[52]*** Revolution, [taten sich] there with a few Russian [Spießgesellen] to a [Räuberbande] together and [hausten] in Bessarabia and Podolia very [fürchterlich]. [Man wurde ihrer zwar] already in Russia [habhaft], they [brachen] however after a murder, which they against a prison overseer [?] had [verübt], out of the Soroki prison, escaped across the Austrian border and would have perhaps here their [Beute in Ehren verzehren] be able — Russia name gave up its [Verfolgung] —, if they not through the [Ausräubung] of a [Steueramtes] in Galicia their work in Russia [hätten krönen wollen]. They were in Czernowitz [dingfest] made and after a year of [Untersuchungshaft] they came before the Czernowitz [Geschworenen, whereby they also because of the in Russia [begangenen Schwerverbrechen] were under [Anklage gestellt]. [Staatsanwalt-Stellvertreter] Lazarus, my [Schicksalsgenosse, vertrat] in this [Prozesse] the [öffentliche Anklage], I [führte] the defence [?] of the [Hauptangeklagten]. In this [Verhandlung], to which more than one hundred witnesses from Russia were [geladen], played a robbery on the country road near Brailow, there, where it in the small [Serpentine] to the church [hinaufgeht], the [Hauptrolle]. For hours, and days long, was this [Faktum ***[53]*** erörtert], for my [Klienten behaupteten] an alibi for the critical time [period], and the [Staatsanwalt] saw [sich], when/as the [Befragung] of the Russian witness[es] and the by me on grounds of the [Angaben] of my [Klienten angefertigte Skizze] of Brailow [noch immer] no sufficient [Aufklärung] brought, to the [Ausrufe veranlaßt]: "[Am zweckdienlichsten wäre] it, if a [Gerichtsdelegierter] under [Zuziehung] of the [Staatsanwaltes] and of the [Verteidigers sich an Ort and Stelle] to Brailow [begeben würde]!" Naturally, it did not come to this, for Brailow is located in Russia, about three hundred kilometres distant from Czernowitz, and the [Staatsanwalt stellte]

therefore also no positive [Antrag] upon this direction — that however we, the [Staatsanwalt] and the [Verteidiger], [gerade] the two of us, after three years ourselves suddenly to Brailow [versetzt sahen], escorted by Russian policemen as [Verbrecher], that [konnte selbst im Gehirn] one with the [kühnsten Phantasie begabten Erzählers] not be [fertiggebracht]. The [rauhe Wirklichkeit] of the [furchtbarsten] of all was [gefiel sich eben] in such [Zufällen].

Already [schwebte mir auf den Lippen the spöttische remark: "Now [könnten we ja dasjenige fesistellen, about which we back then had so [heftig gestritten." But I kept it to myself. I was ***[54]*** indeed too moved by the [erschütternden Größe] of a [Schicksalsfügung], which to me [eher] in the gigantic as in the grotesque and bizarre to go appeared. And [?] it was indeed only the [schwächliche] beginning of experiences, which its dramatic [Steigerungen noch harrten].

[Wenn an dem eben geschilderten Zufall a [pikantes] detail was, thus is it *this*: in that [Gerichtsverhandlung] had the older of the two Gerowski brothers [als] translator for the Russian language [fungiert] ...

We drove on. In Brailow was [haltgemacht], for the [Herren] policemen had quickly grown hungry. Finally [einstellte] also with us the [Verlangen] for sustinance [?]. We [ließen] us the way in the behind the Catholic church situated large [Hospiz zeigen], in which presently the [Wallfahrten] to a [wundertätigen Heiligenbild] thousands [beherbergt werden]. The policemen [entwickelten] themselves a for Russian Gorodowojs [beachtenswerten] appetite, only a [zierte sich] and made [Anstalten], the table to [verlassen. Er ließ sich zwar erbitten], [am Mahle] further to participate, [beibehielt] however his [brummige Miene] and gave upon our questioning, whether he us in Winnitza until the morning in a [anständiges Hote lassen wolle, ausweichende] ans- ***[55]*** wered. The good man had the plan to a [großen Fischzug angelegt] and meditated [darüber], while he a large bite after the next [verschlang]. That saw I to him [deutlich an].

A pitch dark night [lagerte] over the [dürftigen] town, as we again [aufbrachen] and the omnibus, which was [gelenkt] by a stupid [Bauernknecht], who the way to the marshy woods, which spans a distance of thirty kilometers between, Brailow and Winnitza, [einschlug]. The wagon repeatedly got stuck. We had to get out, and the combined/united exertions of all of our travel companions managed it, the [schwerfällige Gefährte] again to [flottmachen]. From time to time the driver got lost. We [irrten umher] and could not see ones hand before one's eyes. The night was damp and cool, and we shivered [tüchtig] in our summer clothing. Finally, toward two o'clock at night [in the morning], [aufblinkten] the lights of Winnitza. With a hefty [Gerassel] drove the wagon along the length of the main road. There, where it toward [gegen] the river [neigt], the wagon came to a

stop, and the [brummige] [policeman], who himself despite [eifrigen] protests of his two colleagues [selbst] to the leader of the expedition [erkor], ordered us to get out. He [ließ] on his [Pfeifchen] a ***[56]*** [schrillen Pfiff ertönen]. From several directions [ertönten Antwortsignale], and soon there was an entire group of policemen gathered around us. [Auf] our [neuerliche] question, to which hotel we should go to, the Gorodowoj, the one who had usurped the leadership, gave absolutely no answer. Then he whispered secretly with of the two Winnitza policemen and [entfernte sich], us the [Überwachung] through the [übrigen überlassend].

A quarter-hour later he returned and bid us to follow him. The [Zug] formed up, and we wandered through the streets, which were illuminated by [vereinzelten] electrical lamps, until we arrived before a [halbstockhohen], white [getünchten] building, which over the entrance door, to which a few steps [emporführten], the [Aufschrift] "*Ujezdnaja Polizia*" (county or district police) [trug]. We were led into the [Hausflur]; then it meant one us a few steps to go down, and we [gelangten] in the [Vorraum] of a [Kellers], whose door [sich] like with a [Zauberschlag] opened before us.

Reader, if you the [Mut] and the [ernsten Willen] have, to me [weiter to folgen], hold your nose [closed] and [schürze ordentlich] your [Kleider]!

In the [düsteren], by a [schwelenden] [Petroleumlämpchen matt] lighted room, ***[57]*** in which we entered, lay in a [wirren, undefinierbaren Haufen] on and under [Pritschen], on the floor and on [Bretten] hineingemauerten into the wall, fifty to a hundred people, most entirely naked, by dirt and [Unrat starrend], [unheimliche Dünste ausstrahlend] and with [rasselnden Geräuschen] again [einatmend]. The [Diele] was with a several [Zoll tiefen], [aufgeweichten Schmutzkruste] covered, and we had to remain standing at the door, for we could over the [umherliegenden Menschenleiber] not make our way forward. The [Atem versaid] us. The [Staatsanwalt] made with a [Ruck kehrt], ran up the [Stiegen], through the [Hausflur] until to the [Freitreppe], [ließ sich dort nieder and vergrub stöhnend] his face in both of his hands. Later we experienced similar and still worse prisons, but the police prison of Winnitza was our first, and we had the [Training] still not [durchgemacht]. Before us stood, after the [Staatsanwalt] had been brought back, the policeman, who this [Gesellschaft] commanded, with [ihr zusammen] also slept, and [leuchtete] with his small lamp each of us in the face. after this [Musterung] said he [befriedigt]: "Such have I not yet had, they [lasse] I me [gefallen]." ***[58]***

I [einließ] myself with him in [Unterhandlungen] and got him to understand, that we nothing [umsonst wollten], whereupon to me initially the answer was: "[Nicht um three hundred [Rubel lass' I you all out of here," whereupon I, standing by the door and from time to

time turning [his] head, in order to get some air, replied to him: “That I [begreife], my friend, however for five [?] Rubel you would do it.” The little banknote was soon in his hand, then he said with [gravitätischem Ernst]: “I will [da] not [selbst entscheiden], I will the [meinem Vorgesetzten melden].” We went back to the [Hausflur], where [sich] the [Spalier] of the policemen in the meantime had [verdichtet], and the [Gefängnisaufseher] disappeared through the back door. After a [beträchtlichen] while he returned, and following him in [notdürftigen Nachtgewändern] was a young man, who presented himself to us as [diensthabender Polizeibeamter]. He spoke with us [gesittet] and [höflich], and after we had related to him, who we were, he [gestattete], that we in a [Büro] in the [Halbstock einstweilen Aufenthalt nähmen]. He did still one [Übriges], in that he out of a [benachbatten] small [Gasthof] three mattresses [kommen ließ]. On these [lagerten] we us to [fünft], and despite the [Auf- ***[59]*** regungen] of the previous 48 hours we soon afterward fell into a deep sleep.

At about nine o’clock in the morning the entire police station [?] was in a [Hellem Aufruhr]. First came the Pristaw of/from Winnitza, and I heard, how he in the [Nachbarzimmer] to a [Polizeibeamten] said: “The people [müssen unschuldig sein = have to be innocent], for if/when they had in Czernowitz [irgendetwas begangen] had, they already would have been hanged.” Then came the [Stellvertreter of the Isprawnik (Kreishauptmanns) and informed us, the Herr Chef [sei über Land gefahren] and will only in two to three day return; so long [müßten we us gedulden. Es blieb] however not [dabei, for suddenly appeared the [Staatsanwalt of Winnitza and [unterzog us a brief and [scharfen Verhör, whereby he so [tat, as if it to him [allein obliege, to bring us to the [Galgen. Also his [Amtsherrlichkeit was of a short duration, for soon afterward appeared two Gendarmerie officers, who us now [endgültig in the Hand nahmen. [Um vor us not lächerlich to erscheinen, [abgab] the [Staatsanwalt by the umständlichen Protokollaufnahme, which with each of us separately [erfolgte, den Kiebitz].

I can no longer remember exactly all of what the Herr *Rittmeister* asked me, I only know ***[60]*** that my [Personalien] alone two [Foliobogen ausfüllten], whereby the Herr *Rittmeister* a in the central European [Rechtspflege unstatthafte Wißbegier] over my [Vergangenheit] and [Vorvergangenheit], over my children and [Kindeskinder], over my wife and her ancestors until the [dritten Grade], over my [Primo- and Sekundogenituren] [an den Tag legte], as if it [sich darum handelte], to me the [Hoffähigkeit zu- or abzusprechen]. Then remember I [mich] on a [spitze Antwort], that I to the Herr *Rittmeister* during the course of the [Ausfragens] gave, and which brought him to a [Harnisch]. He asked me, namely, whether I after the entry of the Russian troops had become loyal to

the Russians. I replied: “I had about the same feeling that you, Herr *Rittmeister*, since you are certainly a Russian patriot, would have, if the Austrians were to enter Winnitza.” The man jumped up in a rage; as/when he, however, into my [lachenden] eyes looked, he calmed down again. It came [noch] to a second [ironisch gefärbten Auseinandersetzung], wo which I will come back to at another time [Gelegenheit].

Our [Einvernahme] took several hours [in Anspruch], whereupon we all together in [Büro] were led, where [sich] the improvised ***[61]*** [Gerichtshof], consisting out of the two [Gendarmerie] officers, the [Staatsanwalt], and the [Isprawnik-Stellvertreter], had assembled. One of these officers, the Rittmeister Kozubow, who later the by the Russians occupied Lemberg [wütete], [verkündete] us the [Urteil]:

“You all actually belong according to our laws in the [Zuchthaus] and eventually [an den Galgen], but so that you also see, that we too are [Kulturmenschen], we will inter [?] you here in a [Gasthofe] and [gegen Ehrenwort Bewegungsfreiheit] in the city [gewähren].”

Bis the langwierige Russian Amtsweg schriftlich erledigt war, etwa three bis four Tage, blieben we im Amtsgebäude the Bezirkspolizei, wo us eine kleine Wachtstube zugewiesen wurde. Dann übersiedelten we in ein, selbst for Winnitzer Verhältnisse im allerletzten Range stehendes Hotel and von dort nach acht Tagen auf unser eindringliches Verlangen in einen etwas besseren Gasthof. Mit the Bewegungsfreiheit wurde es nichts, denn es wurden us auf unsere Kosten two Polizisten beigegeben, die Tag and Nacht vor unseren Zimmern auf- and abpatrouillierten and us only einmal of the Tages to einem Spaziergang außerhalb the Stadt for eine Stunde lang hinausführten. ***[62]***

We remained in Winnitza for eleven full weeks.

[Eintönig, interrupted only by a few noteworthy episodes, our life passed in this [übrigens not unpleasant city Stadt. Winnitza, a county town of about sixty thousand Jewish and Polish inhabitants, is situated at the bend of the eastern Bug, which flows into the Black Sea. It is the seat of a Corps commando, of a Gymnasium, and a county court. The city, whose suburbs are sought out as [Sommerfrischen, is kept fairly clean and is even intersected [?] by electric streetcars.

A few episodes:

The Herr Staatsanwalt of Winnitza [heimsuchte us in the first days wiederholt. Once he came with this Amtsmütze on his head, carrying a [Reitpeitsche in the hand, in my room, in order to me to relate, that the Serbians and [Montenegriner had already taken all of Bosnia and [Herzegowina, and that the [unvergleichliche Russian army Cracow had [zerniert and was marching toward Vienna. I

thanked him for the friendly [Mittellung, however remained sitting, without offering him a seat. When he me [barsch asked, wherefore I him denn not Platz nehmen lasse, replied I, ***[63]*** that I with [Rücksicht auf his habit the [Meinung gewesen sei, er wolle reiten.

Then we also received an important visitor. The Governor of Podolien, Grave Ignatjew, came to us in the room. He comported himself [durchaus] European. From the diplomatic school [Hartwigs hervorgegangen], for he was [zuletzt Legationsrat in Belgrade, the Grave said to us, speaking alternately in German and French, about our personal [Verhältnissen] and about the conditions in Czernowitz. He wanted also to learn from me how [sich] the Russian soldiers had conducted themselves during their arrival in Czernowitz. I gave him as an answer that in regards to the foot soldiers no particular complaints could be made, however that the Cossacks... Here the Grave interrupted me and said to me: "Oh, we ourselves fear the Cossacks."

Grave Ignatjew had learned that I was well acquainted with Herr von Krupensky, the brother of the former [Botschafters in Rome and leader of the [Zentrums in the Duma. Herr von Krupensky had [tatsächlich in earlier years [wiederholt spent time as guest in my house. Grave Ignatjew advised me to write to Herr von Krupensky, for he would be able to do much for me in Petersburg. I wrote this letter, ***[64]*** but never received a reply. Finally Grave Ignatjew said to us, that we would remain [auf alle Fälle] in Winnitza or in another city close behind [?] Kiev, [allerdings until to the end of the war. This [Zusage had Grave Ignatjew probably not been able to [halten.

One day we heard [Großfürst Michael, the younger brother of the Tsar had come to Winnitza in order to organize and train a volunteer division of Cossacks here. [Tatsächlich soon afterward the entire city bustled with Cossacks and already on the second day after their arrival in broad daylight a Cossack stabbed a Jew in his [Kramladen, because the latter had [geweigert to sell a [großes seidenes Tuch] a farm wife for a Rubel.

We also heard much about the war however despite the [prahlerischen Beleuchtung, which in the Russian newspapers, which we read in secret, about the course of the fighting were poured out [?], I remained [unentwegt optimistic, and in length debate with my companions I sought time and again the [Nachweis to erbringen], that we in the end have to be victorious. The heavens be praised that I [recht behielt]. ***[65]***

One night we were awoken by a heavy [Gepolter. The doors to the large room in which I together with the [Hofrat von Duzinkiewicz and the [Abgeordneten Spenul slept, was forcefully broken and when the room became light [?] stood before our beds six drunken Cossack officers who [stürmisch darnach fragten, how we had been taken prisoner. The good people were namely in the opinion that we were

officers who in the fighting in the Carpathians were brought in. One of them, who seemed to me to be the least [angeheiterte], I could finally make [begreiflich that we were civilian prisoners, [Geiseln seien], whereupon he his [schwankenden Beinen = bowlegged ?] standing comrades [unter artigen, an unsere Adresse gerichteten Entschuldigungen] departed. The [Gastwirt], who was standing at the door, received the beating, because the esteemed officers [angeblich not had [genau unterrichtet]. In a wide arc the [Perücke] of the Herrn Hoteliers, that an officer had ripped from his head, in the middle of our room.

My wife, who with the Russians in Czernowitz had remained, [setzte es durch], that us all articles of clothing and money also to Winnitza [nach ***[66]*** geschickt wurden], so that we in this [Beziehung at least were well [versehen]. [Bei dieser Gelegenheit] I received on the 16 October 1914 the first and for a long, long time last letter from my [loved ones?].

In the Russian newspapers were also about us repeatedly the talk. One time we read the official report that negotiations were taking place in which we against the female members of the Gerowski family, who [sich in Innsbruck in Haft befanden], were going to be exchanged. I knew that these negotiations would lead to nothing and also wanted [not auf Grund] of a [Eingriffes of the enemy in the [Justizhoheit of my fatherland to gain my freedom. In this [Sinne I also wrote to the American in Petersburg, without, however, [jemals] an answer to receive.

On the 6 December, s Sunday, a policeman suddenly appeared in our room and [ausrichtete us the following order from the Herr Pristaw:

We [hätten immediately our things to pack, for we were going to be [expediert onward. Where, he did not know. The [Hotelwirtin, a [gutmütige person, who had connections with the police, went to the Pristaw and returned very [bestürzt: ***[67]*** We were being sent to Siberia, probably to Tomsk.

We packed our things. At about six o’clock in the evening we were taken to the [Polizeiamt, there [ausstellte man] each of us a [Hastbrief]. Then we drove out of [?] the city in three Droschken. Before the massive prison we stopped, the door opened wide, we were into the [Büro of the [Direktors taken, and after ten minutes we sat in a cell for [Schwerverbrecher. The iron door was double locked.

This came [über us unexpected, at first [unfaßbar and like a bad dream. ***[68]***

On the [Etappenweg to Sibiria

I can [jederzeit a [heiligen Eid leisten], that I am not [gemütsroh. But back then I had to laugh. The situation was also too comic: The

[gefürchtete Staatsanwalt from Czernowitz, Norbert Lazarus, with whom I had in the [Schwurgerichtssaale manchen harten Strauß ausgefochten, in the [Zuchthause on the [schmalen Strickbett, more huddling than laying, with eyes wide open [vor sich hinstarrend], from time to time [abgerissene words [halblaut mumbled. Next to him in [harter Nachbarschaft], lang hingestreckt and motionless: Dr. Weißelberger, the first mayor of the [Landeshaupt- and Universitätsstadt]. Leaning against the wall was the [k. k. Hofrat] and former [Stellvertreter of the [Landespräsidenten, Dr. Basil *Ritter* v. Duzinkiewicz, and in the [Dämmerlicht of the small [Petroleumlampe, which illuminated the [Verbrecherzelle], [verloren sich the Umrisse the robusten form of the Ukrainian politician and [Reichsratsabgeordneten Nikolai Spenul. I myself sat at the [Kopfende of my [Lagers with [übereinandergeschlagenen legs and [Hub mit — I say: with [überlegener irony, my ***[69]*** companions [meinten at the time: with gallows humor, but both appeared to me in [manchen situations to be closely related — I [Hub also an:

"My dear friend, Lazarus, here can to you also my [Beredsamkeit not help, [jene Beredsamkeit, that you once the [teuflische Werkzeug nanntest], with which I [schuldigen Verbrechern the the door to freedom [öffne]...

The [Aufseher schob] the Klappe of the Gucklochs with an audible [Ruck to the side and regarded us with aufmerksam.

I, however, fuhr fort:

"The Auge of the Russian Gesetzes ruht with Wohlwollen and Genugtuung upon you, dear Staatsanwalt, and from cell to cell he will guilty and innocent [künden: Your arch-enemy is in [sicherem Gewahrsam."

My old schoolmate Lazarus [lächelte the traurigste Lächeln, that I je gesehen, and remained silent.

This first night in Kerker, which still so many [folgen sollten, seemed to be an eternity for us. It [bestand not of hours and not of minutes, rather of seconds, that only slowly and [zögernd davonschlichen, until the [graue, trübe and bitter cold morning of the 7 Dezember 1914 broke. ***[70]***

With a [gewissen Feierlichkeit ankündete us the Amtsorgan, that we from here on — we [befanden us [bekanntlich in the [Zuchthause of the russisch-podolischen Kreisstadt Winnitza — the [Etappenweg to Siberia [antreten. In the corridor it became [lebendig. The prisoners, who [zwangsweise to their [Nezessitäten were being taken, stopped/bunched up before our cell. They wanted to see us and they wanted us [beweisen, that also in the breast of a [Totschlägers, of the Gewohnheitsdiebes or of a [Betrügers a human fealing heart was to be found. A [Schwerverbrecher called through the half-open door, he had brought us milk. He knew that "better people" had to have a warm breakfast. He energetically refused to be paid.

Then a ten-man strong detachment of soldiers came led by an NCO, took us in their midst and escorted us to the approximately two kilometres distant train station of Winnitza. With [fahlen, übernächtigen faces and tired legs [stapften we through the deep snow. The Commandant, who had learned that I understood Russian, went at my side and spoke in lyrical [weichem Ton auf mich ein]. He consoled me. You see," he said to me, "I have already seen many taken this way, ***[71]*** and if you are healthy, you will also survive it in the end." Then he [anstellte to me a [Empfehlung to the commander of the [Arrestantenwagens in [Aussicht. "Oh, I will say to him, that he is dealing with [feinen people, and I will for you [bestimmt a separate bench [erwirken."

He was true to his word — the three Rubel I had to [allerdings vorausbezahlen] — and an hour later we found ourselves [wohlverschlossen on the way to Kiev. With us shared the wagon another fifty-nine men, next to and [übereinandergeschichtet, with and without [Ketten.

Stolypin-wagons they were called, in honor of the Russian [Staatsmannes, of whom it was told that he with his own hands the [Zeichnung for the mobile, on [rails ?] Schienen rolling prison had [entworfen.

A high, up to the [Decke reichendes Eisennetz abschließt the for each twelve to seventeen people designated cells from the narrow [?] corridor, whach for the "Konvoi" bestimmt ist. In each of the cells, which with each four, in [kurzen Abständen übereinander geschichteten Pritschen versehen sind], a small, durch a starkes Eisengitter covered window. The air is hot and sticky, and if one of the soldiers the iron, ***[72]*** with [starken Schlössern versehene outer door happened to open, everyone hurried as if [Verabredung to the Eisennetz, in order a fresh [Luftmolekülchen to [erhaschen.

We had after a short but [unzweideutiger Unterhandlung] with the Commandant a bench close to the door received, and there stood the poor [Staatsanwalt, head pressed into the net/mesh, because he himself [einbildete, that in the small [Eisenmaschen better air circulation [herrsche. This time I no longer laughed.

But I also did not cry. I made and received visits. Two German estate owners from southern Russia, both Swabians, told me about their suffering, the suffering of many thousands. They were going to Siberia, because they were in conversations [?] with a Russian [Beamten [auf the rohe Beschimpfung] of the German Kaiser and of the German people [bescheiden eingewendet hätten], that the [behaupteten horrible [Greueltaten by the Russian press about the German soldiers in Belgium and in the Russian border territories not [erwiesen seien] and could not have been true.

"We are Russian subjects and our great-grandfathers [forefathers?] came to southern Russia under Empress Catherine. We

have all of the land in [Tauri- ***[73]*** schen, Jekaterinoslawschen, Chersonschen and Ackermannschen over the course of centuries made [urbar, and the German colonists are since many years the [Grundpfeiler of the Russian [Getreideversorgung. We pay the highest [Steuern, we have constructed our road ourselves, the [Wildbäche reguliert and drained the marshes. Following the outbreak of the war the Tsar received delegations of the German colonists, the Protestants, Catholics, Mennonites, and Baptists. The Emperor of Russia said to the deputation after receiving our [Millionenspende for the Red Cross and other Kriegszwecke: I recognize the value of the German colonists in southern Russia, I also know that these Germans are true sons of Russia. They can be assured to have my imperial protection. I do not wish anything that [sich in this [Beziehung irgend etwas ändere.' Eight days later was the [große Razzia, and hundreds upon hundreds were thrown into prison, in order from there the [Leidensweg to Siberia commence, for the Tsar is a [ohnmächtiger man in Russia. The Governor, the Pristaw, and the Isprawnik rule. [Zur Not] is it also the Urjadnik, who sich above all orders of the Tsars [hinwegsetzt and according to his own system governs. In earlier ***[74]*** years it was the Jews alone, who had to fill the [abgrundtiefen pockets of the Russian police [??] the now [müssen also we Germans herhalten, and if the last piece of [baren money [erpreßt is, [müssen we doch house and [Hof depart, in order to Siberia or in the [Uralgebiet abgeschoben] to be. Spies and traitors we are called, and behind us stand [lauernd the hordes of the [Schwarzen Hundert, in order us the in the bloody [Schweiße erarbeitete piece of land to divest. Whichever way the war will [ausfallen, we will emigrate and have to seek out a new homeland for ourselves."

I consoled them as well as I could. "You should not forget," I said, "that the [Reichskanzler in the German Reichstag [sagen durfte: 'The world will discover after peace is concluded, that no German [ungestraft ein Haar gekrümmt werden darf]? You should also not forget that despite all of the [prahlerischen and [dummdreisten Russian reports of victory, the German and the Austrians will [davontragen the victory."

A soldier from the escort detail entered into our cell and sat himself down next to me. He was aware from the Russian newspapers our [bisherigen sad/pitiful experiences and said: ***[75]***

"I know that you have the Gerowski brothers to thank for all of this, but why has the Austrian government the Gerowskis not [rechtzeitig gehängt? You see," [fuhr er fort], "I am a Ukrainian revolutionary socialist, but in such things I take no pleasure. I see in the [Hochverrätern and espionage not only dangerous [Widersacher of the state, in which they their handiwork [treiben, I see in them also [Schädiger of all of humanity, the true [Verursacher of the world war and the only to blame for the mass murder that the Russian

government these [Ehrenmänner to Machthabern in the occupied territories of Austria makes, werden you [begreifen, if they knew, that since the days of Iswolsky the [lärmende and polternde] Russian nationalism is the [bewegende force of our domestic and foreign politics."

The young man in the soldier's uniform forgot time and place, where we found ourselves, and became a preacher [?].

He [bestritt alone the discussion. The [dicken, übelriechenden Luftschichten umfaßten me [immer enger, and as if from a far distance came the words of the Russian soldier to me [herüber. He spoke long and [eindringlich, forgot ***[76]*** [offenbar, where he was, and spoke with [flüsternder, leidenschaftlicher] voice about the true freedom of people and about socialism, which in Marx [noch lange] not [zur höchsten Reife gelangt sei...

The shadows of the [heranbrechenden night [färbten sich] darker and darker, then everything around me sank into [unheimliche, von phantastischen Gestalten belebte] darkness. [Bleiern hingen the Lider over the eyes, and in [großen, dicken and cold drops ran the sweat from the [Schläfen herab. Unbewußt and in Reflexbewegungen steckte I from time to time my middle finger between [Hals and Kragen, in order me air to schaffen, for I felt, that I was close to [Ersticken.

This was the first [Etappentag.

When we from the Kiev train station in the approximately eight kilometers distant prison were led, no, chased [hounded/driven ?], I believed myself to be at the end of my energy, and [doch sollten we still thirty more such and still [schrecklichere days endure and finally [übersiehen.

The "Peressilnaja Tiurma", the central prison of Kiev, in which daily hundreds, perhaps even thousands of deportees were [verzeichnet and geschichtet], beherbergte us ***[77]*** a night. The prison official [würdigte in us the "Fremden von Distinktion" and assigned us a separate cell, in which, [wie er us lächelnd] said, the previous night the German and the Austrian [Konsul had slept.

The following morning it went onward. Two, three, four, perhaps even five hours took the [Aufstellung and Gruppierung in front of the prison, in detachments of fifty "men" — also many women, primarily gypsies [?], were included —, and here [abspielte sich a moving scene, which a [sonderbaren Kontrast schuf. The [Unternehmer, who the prisoners, who often also many weeks in this prison remained, to [beköstigen and from and to the train station to transport had, went with his [Angestellten from group to group and from man to man and [darreichte each a large [Laib of white bread and five [Kopeken as a gift.

I [erkundigte mich by a [Eingeweihten, what this scene meant, and learned: two sons of the [Unternehmers had themselves in the

year 1905 participated in the Russian Revolution and were by the police [abgefaßt. The older one was hanged, the younger died from marsh fever in Siberia. The mother died [ans ***[78]*** Gram, and now [weiht the father, a [wohlhabender man, diesen daily act of [Wohltätigkeit in memory/tribute to his two children, who had been his only ones.

The convoy soldier looked upon him [wohlwollend and [gerührt.

"You are always good and brave, [Väterchen," he said. Then he raised his sword, [schlug auf the nächststehenden Häftling wuchtig los and cried: "Forward, you dog!"...

Before the train station in Kiev we stood for many hours, until the [Arrestantenwaggons, which one to a freight train [ankoppelte, were [bereitgestellt. The military escort [mannschaft passed the time, [indem sie von Stunde to Stunde Zählung vornahm, in order themselves to [vergewissern, that none of the valuable heads was absent.

Suddenly a [Rufen and Fragen went through the ranks. In one of the fifty-head detachments it was discovered that one of the heads was absent. With [hocherhobenem saber in the left and service revolver in the right the guard[s] ran along the rows. The missing man was not to be found. Whether it was the result of an error [von Haus aus handelte], or because one of those being escorted actually managed to slip away, no one could figure out. ***[79]***

For all of the [Fälle one [ansah] it the soldiers, that they were in [Verzweiflung], because they the [Ware [vollgewichtig could not [abliefern.

And now [ereignete sich] something that to me in later months, when I was already in Siberia, one of the many Russian [Merkwürdigkeiten aufklärte]: In the Siberian fishing villages [fanden sich] suddenly hundreds of exiles, whose names the police [behörde did not know, from/of whom one did not know why and wherefor [?] they had been sent to Siberia, and for the [Begleitdokumente] were absolutely not available.

The NCOs of the escort [mannschaft [traten namely to a [Beratung together, whispering for awhile, then they all suddenly turned around and one called, with a long [ausgesireckter hand at a [impoverished] little man on the other side of the street [dahinschleichendes weisend]: "Wie glaubt ihr, is that a Jew?" In chorus came the loud reply: "Oh, that is certainly a Jew." Then [trennten sich] two NCOs from the group and went in [hartem Schritt auf den Mann drüben los], grabbed him by both arms and dragged him without [weiteres further ado] toward the detachment, where the fiftieth man was missing. He rode along with us for the entire long thousands of kilometers [umfassenden Etappen- ***[80]*** weg to Siberia, stayed at all of the prisons, that gave us the [Gastrecht, and received ten [Kopeken per day for his [Unterhalt, until he finally in Narymski

Kraj landed, where to him [allerdings, as I later heard, after several weeks the journey home was [gestattet, [selbstverständlich again [per Etappe.

He had served the "convoy" as an involuntary substitute, the detachment of fifty men was again complete.

I can no longer recall how many days and nights we traveled on the short stretch from Kiev to Kursk. I just remember that one night we were out of the [dumpfen Halbschlafe], in which we found ourselves, awoken and that we were [anbefahl], "with all of our things," to get off of the car because we had arrived in Kursk, where we in the from Charkow and Woronesch to Tula going [Etappenzug] would [übersiedeln].

It was a dreadful night. A frigid wind swept over the [weiten] [Gleisanlagen, and we stood there again in [Reih and Glied], hour upon hour passed, before we again were [einwaggoniert. A new "convoy" received us. [Rohe Gesellen], who let loose upon us [?] with their sabers and fists and ***[81]*** us first after hours' long [Bitten out of the wagon of the "political", in which we about one hundred men strong in [wirrem Haufen übereinander] lay and sat, in the wagon of the [schweren Verbrecher] transferred, where we at least found a bench upon which we could seat ourselves [dicht gedrängt].

In long white [Pelzen, with heavy chains on hands and feet [versehen, lay on all [Pritschen unheimliche Gestalten]. [Bleiche faces, aus denen glühende, feverish eyes [hervortraten, long dirty hands, that with each movement a [unheimliches Klirren] of the heavy iron chains [hervorriefen! Thus looked our new travel companions. They were mostly [Tataren, who after ten and twenty years of forced labor [zur lifelong banishment/exile to Siberia [abgeschafft, who however were better handled/treated than the "political" and hoboes, who earlier had formed our company. In this "better treatment" we were now also allowed to participate; but [geschenkt we did not receive it.

Then came Tula. We arrived there at a late hour of the night. Again the [unheimliche procession formed up, the guard [mannschaft [anzündete long [Pechfackeln, and we were afforded to privilege ***[82]*** of forming the rear guard/element along with the women.

On the train station [perron stood a few German and Austrian officers, who fallen into captivity and [gerade abgefertigt werden sollten]. [Offenbar was a German word to them [hinübergedrungen, for suddenly [herübertönte it from them: "For heaven's sake, you certainly cannot be Austrians or Germans, who transports in such a way?" I turned around and called out loud: "We are Austrians." Then I saw how the [warriors/combatants] clenched their fists, and how a nervous [Zittern went through the ranks/rows.

Through the [verschlafenen streets of Tula procession moved, and wide opened the doors of the old prison in order to receive us.

Five hours long we stood in a [zugigen, cold corridor, until it

was our turn, [um before a young [Tschinownik [barhäuptig our [Nationale to be able to [abgeben, and when I by this [Gelegenheit zufällig a glanced through the window of an already filled cell, [da I felt like it to me ice-cold over the back went. There lay in a room of perhaps fifteen meters length and eight meters ***[83]*** bredth two hundred, three hundred, or perhaps it was even four hundred people in [wirrem Haufen über- and durcheinander], a mass grave of still-living humanity, who in fain struggled for air, and of whom likely each death [sehnlichst herbeiwünschte]. [Schauerlich klang] the [dumpfe Stöhnen], which were emitted simultaneously from a hundred lips.

My [Entschluß was [gefaßt. We will not go in there, I said to myself. [Rasch beugte I myself to the young [Beamten [hinab and said to him in short, [stoßweise hervorgebrachten] words: "Please do not be so inhumane, find a different room for us, where we can remain, or [lassen Sie] us here in this corridor."

The man was [gerührt. "Warten Sie", he said, "I will do, what I can." and as all of the others were [abgefertigt, he led us to the first [Stockwerk, where he [us after a lengthy [Suchen the rusted iron door of a room opened, which [offenbar earlier/in the past once had served as a [Werkstätte for [Sträflinge. A [hoher room, with [Steinfliesen bedeckt, the two [Gitterfenster without glass/panes — but air, even if it was cold and icy air, was in [Hülle and Fülle] available. There [zubrachten we the first ***[84]*** night. On the following morning the prison director visited us, and on our Vorstellungen he zuwies us a prison cell, that he to this [Zwecke had made free.

Sick and elend, with [mangelhafter Nahrung], which we us only [sehr schwer beschafften], we remained five days in this prison, in order then again to the [Nachtzeit in the to Samara [abgehenden Etappenzug] to be brought.

One officer, who the [Bahnhofwache befehligte, had heard about us and our [Stande. He spoke German to us and [sorgte for a few [Erleichterungen. He [zuwies us namely a small [Abteilung in a third class car, and the approximately three days [währende journey to Samara was the most pleasant on our [Etappenweg... ***[85]***

From Tula to Samara

More than a full year has since passed, and everything that I here write down I must [aus my Gedächtnis schöpfen, aber deutlich], almost with photographic [Treue auftauchen] before me again the many interesting [Gestalten, which to me back then [begegneten. The by a melancholic [Slawentum [leicht übertünchten Scythian and Tatar, who [Wut schnaubten, and whose [verworrene Reden] always again with ["Wilgelm der Grausame"] [schlossen, übergehe I schlankweg]. However, a few others I will [vorführen:

A [großrussischer Landsturm man, an NCO, who us in Tulain

the prison[ers ?] to the [Weitertransport had in [Empfang genommen and us also to Samara escorted, had as [blutrünstiger Germanophobe started his [Amt, and as a friend of German and Austrian culture he bid farewell to us in Samara.

He was a true [Muscovite]. The [schüttere blond [Spitzbärtchen ließ] the long face appear to be even longer. When he entered our cell, in order to pick us up, he went with the on the bayonet fixed rifle at us with the ***[86]*** words [los: "On this bayonet I can all five of you Germans [aufspießen." His words [ließ he a [Geste folgen], which in fact to the [Verwechseln ähnlich sah, and who knew, how it would have gone for us, had I not to him with the words [entgegengetreten: "Dear friend, your bayonet is much too short, there is [gewiss] not enough space for all five on this weapon...

In the waggon [?], when he drank our tea and smoked our cigarettes, he changed. He spoke about Tolstoy, in whose neighborhood he had lived and who he had personally known, he spoke about Russian agricultural reform not without knowledge and not without irony. He allowed us to tell him, what it was like [?] in Germany and Austria, remained [zwar steif and fest dabei], that the Germans had perpetrated in Belgium and Russia the most dreadful [Grausamkeiten], [meinte aber schließlich], that Russia also had its Cossacks who perpetrate some things that are contrary to [Menschlichkeit].

"The war" he said, "is a just war, and if the Russian youth also make a large sacrifice in blood, it does not matter, for the Russian people reproduce so quickly, that in a short time the [Manko will be again [eingebracht]. [Allerdings", he added, "if one ***[87]*** us Landsturm, old men, patriarchs, should send to the 'positions,' then the sacrifice would be too great, but it will not come to that, for today or tomorrow" — this was about the middle of December 1914 — "we take Cracow, in order from there to march upon Vienna and Berlin. The Tsar," he continued to tell us, "was in Tula a few days earlier and had said it to us in a speech at the armory. The Tsar also said to us, we would likely also be going to Cracow, however only in order to perform guard duty and to protect the civilian population, for these have to be [geschont."

Very different words found a second man from the Landsturm, who pulled me into a corner and sought to [einzuweihen] me in the Russian [Massenelend, that he in den [krassesien Farben schilderte].

[Sonderbar sounded the revolutionaries, [blutrünstigen words from the mouth of the man in the soldier's uniform, who "the enemy of the Russian state and the lawful order" escorted to Siberia. They were words, which only at the barricades as [Losung yelled and are in [Wutschreien ausgestoßen]. No [Einwand helped, and when I said to him: "Man, you [redest dich um deinen Hals]," he replied with [funkelnden eyes: "We [drehen already the ***[88]*** [Stricke for the

[Mächtigen, and after the war more blood will flow in Russia than during the bloody war itself."

He did not [überzeugte me. I believed back then not on the [angekündigten revolution and today still do not believe in it.

Three Russian social democrats arrived in our [Abteil the next day. They wanted to get to know us, wanted to hear what we had to tell about our homeland, and had the [Bedürfnis, sich mitzuteilen].

They were all from the south of Russia and were after eight months of [Einzelhaft] on their way to the [Tobolsksche Gouvernement], where they "administrative" for five years were sent. Old combatants[?]. They [zurücklegten the way to Siberia for the third time in their lives, and one of them, a [Elektrotechniker, said to me with a bitter laugh:

"I was sent because, aside from being an enemy of the lawful order, I am also seen as an opponent of the war. But I am absolutely not an enemy of this war. I am not a Russian nationalist, but the path to freedom, the way to the sea [?] we are seeking, and we have to find it. This war is the test of the power of the Russian people, and I wish for the ***[89]*** victory of the Russian military. In the victorious Russia will a new order of things arise."

I made my [Einwendungen, [hinwies darauf], that the leader of the Social Democrats, [Dumadeputierte, for life-long deportation to Siberia was sentenced and that Russian imperialism and Russian corruption are [korrelate Begriffe]. My [Gewährsmann widersprach. I had it with a [feingebildeten, belesenen] man to do. He [wußte to me the [Grundprinzipien of the [Machschen Philosophie auseinanderzusetzen] and was in his [Parteilehren weit über] the for the [Hausgebrauch bestimmten Katechismus gedrungen]. He [stellte despite the internationalism of his [Parteianschauungen his [Russentum time and again in the [Vordergrund and [meinte schließlich], the brotherhood of mankind [entgegenstehe the [Ungleichwertigkeit of the nations as mächtigstes Hindernis]. The German culture, [dem Russentum vielfach fremd], [drücke to [sehr the Russian people and [ersticke all [Eigenkultur im Keime. This war will cause a sort of emancipation, a refinement and [Veredelung of the Russian [Wesens [Hervorrufen and in its [weiteren Folge build the bridges to the cultured nations of the West. ***[90]***

With the man [ließ sich gut polemisieren], and I continued the conversation. "You see," I said to him, "I am [durchaus no enemy of the Russian people, I [schätze in them the strong traces/evidence of [Weitherzigkeit and of sozialem Altruismus], I [bewundere" — here I [verneigte myself before him — "the great and deep [Bildungsbedürfnis, which by the Russian workers is [anzutreffen, I also believe, that over the course of the centuries the Scythian and Tartar [Grundelemente, which are [grausam and [blutrünstig, in a [gewisse lyrische Weichheit übergegangen sind]. But this lyrical [?]

[Weichheit has also become the misfortune of the Russian people. With the [ursprünglichen Härte and Grausamkeit] is also the [Festigkeit been lost. A people numbering a hundred million, which in several centuries its [staatlichen] existence was not [imstande, itself a new [Verfassung to geben], was not [fähig, itself the most primitive [Menschenrechte to [erkämpfen, itself not [aufraffen konnte] to a, if also only freedom on paper, a people such as that can also no great deed [vollbringen and no lasting [Kulturwerte create, and this people [müßte it as a [Glück empfinden], in its immediate neighborhood [?] another ***[91]*** people to have, the Germans, who have themselves never [abgeschlossen], rather in [sich the [Beruf fühlten], without [Überhebung] to carry the civilisation until to the Volga and beyond."

The man [einlenkte. He [zugab, that in the [Wesen of the Russian people something lay [Unvollständiges, [Schwaches, Halbes]. "Have you read Turgenjew?" he asked me. "Four years ago," [meinte ich]. "In the 'Frühlingswogen'", he said, "[vorkommt eine Stelle], that always brings me to tears whenever I think about it. It was in the sixties [Jahren] of the previous century, and [Turgenjew befand] himself on a high summer day in Baden-Baden. [Rauschende] music, [helle Kleider], smiling faces, an international [Publikum wogte] on the [Promenade, there were Germans, English, French, Americans, and Spaniards there, also very many Russians. Turgenjew [sucht aus den Physiognomien to erraten], which nation this or that person belonged to. He [erkennt] all of his Russians, and suddenly [bemächtigt sich seiner a dreadful thought: Germans, French, English, Spaniards, all have for the culture and the improvement of humanity [Großes geleistet], but the Russians? [anNehmen] we, that [an jener Stelle], where Russia finds itself, [sich ***[92]*** suddenly a [großer, gewaltiger Erdspalt öffnen] and everything, all what [sich on the [weiten Stätte befindet, verschlingen würde] — what loss would humanity suffer, what loss the holy [Kulturwerte]?"

The revolutionary who sat before me had tears glistening in his eyes. "In the fifteen [?] years since Turgenjew had written these words, almost nothing has changed for us. What you see in the way of railroads and electrical [Anlagen, telegraphs, telephones, universities, and [sonstigen Unterrichtsanstalten], nothing, absolutely nothing has been [geschaffen] by Russian men, nothing is [Eigenbau, we have discovered/invented nothing, everything is [geliehen, [erborgt, [nachempfunden. We have lost our own culture and gained a foreign civilisation."

Now I became for him the [Tröster. "I [bleibe dabei]," I said, "that in the Russian people much is to [schätzen. Foreign civilisation [sich aneignen] and [geschickt verwerten], is also a [Kulturtat. The Russian people just had to free themselves from the [Lüge, which to them nationalistic [Hohlköpfe have aufgeschwatzt], and that [da lautet]: The foreign civilization [unterjocht us, we have to [ausrotten

them and replace it with our own....” ***[93]*** He remained, however, a [halber Anhänger] of the war. [Wie he him [begründete, and [welche weitere Rechtfertigung] he for him found, about this I can no longer remember. The [starke Eindruck] is to me just remains, that also the Russian social democrats could not completely resist/counter Russian imperialism.

The three or four day journey from Tula to Samara, which runs through the [halbtatarischen Gouvernements] of Pensa and Simbirsk, [vermittelte to me still [manche other interesting [Bekanntschaft. I [nachsuche in my [Gedächtnis and remember a Jewish Landsturm man, who had been at Port Arthur, earned the [Georgskreuz, and [dem after the war [zur Belohnung was [gestattet, [außerhalb of the [Ansiedlungsrayons, namely in Tula, [Wohnung to nehmen]. Also he spoke with me, [doch he expressed himself fairly [zurückhaltend. After my return from the Russian captivity I learned that Austrian and German newspapers had published the letter of a Russian-Jew Landsturm man, in which our [Leiden on the [Etappenwege was described. [Offenbar it was this man.

In Samara the same procedure, the same [Marter], from the train station to the prison, in the ***[94]*** prison searched, confined, with [höhnenden] words überschüttet]. A wounded Russian officer [versah irgendeinen] duty in this prison. He looked at me and asked me [barsch]: “Are you a Magyar?” I said no, whereupon he [hinzufügte]: “That’s good, I hate the Magyars, who are [‘böser’] than the Germans.” [Worin] this [“Böse”] [besteht], he did not [allerdings] tell me. Then it went onward, via Ufa to Tscheljabinsk, [längs] of the Ural mountains in an endless journey. Again we ended up in [Arrestantenwaggons] and again we [anwandten] the old [Mittel], in order us small [Erleichterungen to verschaffen], the [Luxus] of the [Etappe].

Tscheljabinsk forms the border between Asia and Europe. From there [nimmt] the great Siberian [Eisenbahnweg] to Wladiwostok and Charbin it beginning, there also [einmünden] the three [große Schienenstränge] of the European Russia. A massive [?] obelisk on the periphery of the city [bezeichnet] the border of the two [Weltteile], a border, which [wohlwollende Geographen] of the [alten Zeit so wett] to the east have [verschoben]. Again it went through metre deep snow in bitter cold, which in the meantime had reached thirty degrees [Reaumur], from the train station to the [Kerker]. This time was it a ***[95]*** [Etappen] prison, that received us. A large wooden blockhouse, which consisted of about twenty cells, which a normal [Belegraum] for a hundred people [gewähren]. Our “party” comprised four hundred and fifty souls, and about two hundred we already [vorfanden] therein. The rooms [dehnten sich] not, and it [wuchs] not the house, but we all had to find space. We camped out on, next to, and under the [Pritsche], eighteen men strong, laying more over than as next to

one another. And we remained [am Leben]. We found [sogar] interest for the [Schilderungen] of our fellow prisoners. They were [hartgesottene alte Verbrecher]. Two of them had already gone through the Siberian [Schrecken], and said with pride: “We are [Rezidive], we know, how it goes there, in the [weiten] snow and ice field.” They [wegaßen] us our best [Bissen], stole from us our cigarettes, our [Taschentücher], also our shoes, but they gave us in payment an exact [Schilderung] of that what awaited us in our [Verbannungsorte].

“You see,” said the one, “at about Christmas time, which we are [ja] already fairly close, you will have a cold of about fifty degrees [Reaumur]. If you a [freien] finger ***[96]*** in the air [stecken], it immediately turns white, then it turns black, and then it is gone…”

After a stay of two days in this fine [Hallen] it went onward to Tomsk. We [rieben] with the thumbs in the by the frost/cold [erblindeten] rail car’s window panes [eisfreie Stellen] and looked outside. A new image. Over the white [Schneeflächen zogen] long [Wagenreihen], which by [Dromedaren] were [gezogen]. It was [offenbar] still the [Gegenden], where the [Felder bebaut werden], then [anreihten sich] birch copses and [Weidengestrüppe] in an endless succession. Hundreds and hundreds of [Werst]. We rode with a freight train, which at all [Ausweichstellen] — there were [recht] few stations — [stehen blieb], in order to allow military trains to pass. At about ten o’clock in the morningit became day, and at about two o’clock in the afternoon it already became night again. These long, long nights we sat closely [aneinandergedrückt] and conversed and [raunten] and whispered us [irgendetwas] to. I no longer know, what it was, that we talked about, what we thought, and what we feared, and when we the first large city — Omsk — reached, where we remain for about six hours, naturely without being allowed to leave the car, had each of us the feeling, as ***[97]*** if we had had left our homeland many, many years ago and now sat there, having become old and grey, in a [unheimliche, finstere Gegenwart hinabgesenkt].

In Omsk we received [Zuwachs] from the [Tobolskischen], of [Deportierten, men and women, primarily Jews and Latvians, who in the Tomsk [Gouvernement] were [abgeschoben]. Sick and suffering [?] all arrived. They had spent in Tjumen, in that city’s [entsetzlichen] prison, two to three months, until the governor of Tobolsk one day declared, he did not have anymore room/space, and the [“Gesindel”] of his [Nachbarkollegen zuschob]. The [Nachbarschaft] is a fairly wide/vast, for the [Etappenfahrt] from Tjumen into the interior of the [Tomskschen Gouvernement beträgt] about two thousand kilometres. The newly arrived had much to tell us: the dreadful suffering of the Germans and Austrians, who, surprised by the outbreak of the war in Russia, on the [Etappenwege] to the northern [Gouvernements], but also to Tobolsk were [Verschleppt]. Many perished there from hunger

and exhaustion.

Finally we arrived in Tomsk. The Tomsk train station is situated in a birch forest, about six ***[98]*** kilometres away from the city and ten kilometres from the prison, to which we were to be taken. The commandant of the [Begleitwache] had us [gestattet], [Schlitten] to take/use, and so we drove [denn] to the city [ein] [bei] thirty-seven degrees cold and a wind, which also the [hartgefrornen] snow [aufzuwühlen] and through the air [to tragen verstand]. The large city was like [ausgestorben], nobody moved along on the streets, and we were half-frozen when we finally arrived at prison. So badly, that [sich] the prison clerk, [allerdings] after we had spent three hours in the cold [Hausflur], [veranlaßt sah], us in the prison [spital] a cell [zuzuweisen].

In this hospital, an old blockhouse, through which [Fugen] the icy wind unhindered [eindrang], lay we ten days long, dead tired, sick, feaverish, and hungry, for the [Nahrungsmittel durften] only in the prison [befindlichen] small shop be sold, and aside from black bread, [schlechten] sausages, tea, and sugar, nothing was [feilgeboten].

Tomsk was assigned [?] to us as [Verbannungsort], and we thought we would have reached our final destination/station. The Governor of Tomsk, however, is a Pole, and the Poles, ***[99]*** who had entered in the service of the Russian state are the [Allerbösesten]. Even against their own countrymen. This we had already experienced along the way, when/if the military [Begleitmannschaft] was commanded by a Polish NCO. The Governor of Tomsk [ließ] us [Mitteilen], that he [sich] in his [Gouvernement] from/by another Governor, who us Tomsk [zugewiesen habe], not [befehlen lasse], and he therefore was sending us to the Narymski Kraj (Narymerland). It was us [gestattet], three hours long in the city to remain, so that we [verschiedene Besorgungen machen]. We [einteilten] us so, that each a [andere Arbeit übernahm]. To me [zufiel] the [Intervention by verschiedenen Behörden], among them also by the military prisoner of war commandant, because we expected [?] there mail from the homeland. I met several Austrian officers there. A young Romanian [Oberleutnant from a Przemysler Regiments said to me, when I myself [nach seinem Befinden erkundigte, wörtlich]: “Rather a beggar in Austria than become a general here. Here everything is [verlogen, falsch and hinterlistig…”

And one Saturday afternoon we departed for the Narymski Kraj. [Zuvor had we us in ***[100]*** Tomsk [Reisepelze, Reisestiefel and Reisemützen beschafft], and thus [ausgerüstet we journeyed out into the wide snow and ice field of Siberia.

I have read in the books of an arctic explorer [?], that the cold that they had to endure on their [Wanderungen], got up to forty degrees. The explorer must have been in error, or [aber is it true, what was said to us along the way, that in the years 1914/15 a winter

in Siberia reigned, that had never been experienced before. When we rode across the ice-flat of the Ob, sank the temperature to forty-seven degrees [Reaumur below zero. In the village of Schukowa, where we spent the third night of our journey, an old farm wife said to me: "Poor child, you have to travel in this cold; we have ['Froststaub'], this have I until now never experienced, only my mother told me about it once." And we have this [Froststaub] experienced and survived. It [sinks] — one does not know where it comes from — on the [Schleimhäute herab], causing it to bleed, the blood freezes and thickens into small [Kügelchen.

Before the [Schlitten the horses are in "Gänsemarsch" vorgespannt], because the in the ice [gehackte Weg] narrow is and on both sides [sich tower masses of snow. From time to time was ***[101]*** at [Ausweichstellen places [geblieben, in order to allow on-coming wagons to pass.

Five days and five nights lasted this journey, and on 7 January 1915 — Christmas and New Year we had spent in the [Kerker — we arrived at our [einstweiligen Bestimmungsort, in Kalpaschewo on the Ob.

When I [bei Betreten the [dürftigen Bauernstube, which I had rented, my [Ranzen öffnete], took out a small mirror and looked at it, I did not recognize myself. A [fremdes Wesen looked back at me, that one with [einiger Nachsicht] for a person could [halten]. Then I thought about whether the [brennende feeling in the elbows, which had [gepeinigt] me on the [Schlittenfahrt and that still persisted, [jemals schwinden werde], [wie es möglich sei, solche Qualen to überleben]...

The "Nazoratil," the [polizeiliche Aufsichtsorgan], das bei mir erschien, in order [mich to beamtshandeln, störte mich in my [Betrachtungen. ***[102]***

In Narymski Kraj

Siberia is not only a [Schrecken and a punishment, it is also a land. A poor [Deportierten comes to this apparently simple [Tatsache only after [Absolvierung of the [Etappenweges to his [Bestimmungsorte to the [Bewußtsein. Along the wat [vorschwebt one [vorerst Kennan's book "Sibera!" — with the [Ausrufzeichen behind the title — [Kennern of Russian literature perhaps also [Dostojewskis "Totenhaus" and Korolenko's "Siberian Novels" with their [feinen Naturschilderungen, then one thinks about Siberia as a giant prison, which somewhere on the [Eismeer finds its border, the administrative [Verschickung brings one to [merkwürdigem Gedankensprung on Ovid's "Tristien" out of the land of the Scythians — until one is [an Ort and Stelle]. Is one [einmal there, [auskramt one initially his geographical Kenntnisse, which one had oneself about thirty years earlier on the [Schulbank

angeeignet], and asks himself: “What do I actually know about Siberia?”

Ob, Jenissei, and Lena, [Altaigebirge, Siberian [Tiefebene, Tobolsk, Omsk, Tomsk, Irkutsk, ***[103]*** primeval forests, great cold [?], four million inhabitants, fish, bears, wolves, foxes, and [Zobel. That is the [Niederschlag verblaßter Schulkenntnisse]. Then [nachdenkt one again. The great Siberian [Eisenbahn, the counterpart [?] of the North American [Pacificbahn, [wurde dem Verkehr übergeben], when I already had my university studies behind me, the large cities of [Nowo-Nikolajewsk and Krasnojarsk, which have newly [entstanden, [andeuten the Americanization of Siberia, about which there is so much talk. The inhabitants quickly increased to twelve million; the [Drang to the far east as a natural result of this [Wachstums. The Russo-Japanese War...

“But what is that, the Narymski Kraj?”

When it had been [revealed ?] to us in Tomsk that we were going to Narym, at first I thought of a “Rome” of the North (Rome means [nämlich Russian Rym]), and I expected some kind of holy [Ostjaken- or Tungusen] city, which [sich malerisch] on a few hills [erhebt. The disappointment was considerable [?]. A physician, who sat in the Tomsk prison because of a political [Delikts, [bereitete sie] to me. He [mitteilte] to me, that Narym [wohl a [ostjakische Gründung sei], the name, however, stems from the [Altaisch-Finni- ***[104]*** schen — the [Ostjaken are namely the [nächsten Verwandten] of the Finns — translated literally into German: [Auf dem Mist]. At the [Einmündungsstelle of the Ket, of the largest [Nebenflusses on the right side of the Ob, large herds of [Buffalo] had been found here centuries ago [hätten sich vor Jahrhunderten große Büffelherden befunden], which as a result of the [Versumpfung of this territory later moved to the south, not without leaving behind massive amounts of dung. Upon this dung the [Ostjaken established their [Hauptort, Narym, which later, after the [Eroberungen Jermaks, in Russian [Besitz überging]. When I in the summer after the great thaw/snow-melt in Narym spent, could I myself with my own eyes [überzeugen, that the [Überlieferung eine getreue war]: Narym, which out of about one hundred [bescheidenen] wood houses bestehende capital city, [ruht auf dem Mist].

The Narymski Kraj is the northernmost “Zwickel” of the Tomsk [Landbezirkes and [umfaßt a surface area of about three hundred thousand [Quadratwerst, which approximately the half of the Austro-Hungarian [Monarchie samt Nebenländern entspricht]. It is the marsh, primeval forest, and [Torfmoorgebiet of the [mittleren] Ob and its Nebenflüsse on both sides and [zählt in about twenty [geschlossenen settlements and numerous [Jurten ***[105]*** (Einzelansiedlungen) seventeen thousand inhabitants, not counting the [Tungusen, who still always lead a nomadic life and according to

the [Ergiebigkeit of the hunt in smaller or larger [Haufen in the primeval forests [nisten. During the summer of 1915 the Narymski Kraj reached a population numbering twenty-thousand, because about three thousand [Verbannte from Russia, Galicia, Bukowina, and East Prussia had [hinzugekommen. Immediately after the year 1863 it was higher. Back then tens of thousands of Poles were [verschleppt] there. The [allermeisten perished soon afterwards from [Hungertyphus and marsh fever, a small [Bruchteil returned [aus Anlaß of an amnesty to their homeland, about one hundred families [ansiedelten sich dort dauernd] and formed, [soweit sie sich] not with the [heimischen] inhabitants have [vermischt, still today a [eigene, across the entire [Narymski Kraj scattered Catholic community.

And now I ask the [so unterrichteten friendly reader, to return with me to Kalpaschewo, where I and my companions on the 7 January 1915 at about eleven o’clock in the morning local/town police, consisting of a [Starschy (Ältester) and three Nazoratils, [lebend abgeliefert wurden]. ***[106]*** I have indeed neither the intention nor the possibility, a strictly chronological [geordnete] account of my experiences to offer, for I have [aus begreiflichen Gründen keinerlei Aufzeichnungen] made, however also for the [Augenblicksbilder, which now again in my memory [auftauchen, must I myself on a [gewisse Zeitfolge halten], if they not in [unsichern Schattenumrissen verschwimmen sollen]...

I lived with [Hofrat v. Duzinkiewicz in a spaceous, but [niederes room in a blockhouse, which lay [knapp on the bank of the Ob. When we our [Einzug hielten] — it was on the first day of the Orthodox Christmas celebration — our [Hausherr sat with his wife and children and a numerous [Gästeschar at the [säuberlich gedeckten] table. [Man drank tea, ate cakes, which were with [Heidelbeeren gespickt, and [knackte fleißig] nuts. These nuts are the [aus dem Zapfen] of the so-called Siberian [Zeder, a [Art Zirbelkiefer, herausgeschälten and sodann] easily [?] [gerösteten Fruchtkerne], which in the [Fabrikation ätherischer Öle Verwendung finden] and a [Hauptexportartikel central and northern Siberia [bilden. A Siberian [knuspert these nuts [geschickt like a [Eichhörnchen between the [Vorderzähnen auf], spits out the shell in a [Bogen ***[107]*** and swallows the seed. Despite all of the exertions could I it him not [nachmachen.

We were [ausgefragt, whether one the Russian newspapers, that only knew only how to report about great victories, should believe. “We only take and take and give nothing,” said the [Hausherr im Tone starken Mißtrauens]. The residents of the Narymski Kraj are indeed due to a them from the first Nikolai [verliehenen privilege exempt from military service, however their [Erwerb erfuhr through the war a very considerable [Einbuße. Fish [sanken auf ein Drittel, Zedernnüsse auf ein Viertel, and Pelze auf ein Fünftel of the normal value. One [anbot to me Siberian [Eichhörnchen to ten Kopeken and Hermeline

to twenty-five Kopeken [das Stück. The Siberian [Schneehuhn, which one there [merkwürdigerweise Kuropatka, Wachtel, nennt, could I to sixty Kopeken [das — Dutzend einkaufen], and a rabbit, which during the winter is snow-white, was to fifteen Kopeken [das Stück gehandelt], whereby one eight Kopeken for the fur [zurückbekam.

"We from the Narymski Kraj", said my [Wirt, "müssen us well [nähren and [ordentlich Pflegen, we cannot live like the [Muschik in Russia, for we have here a [mör- ***[108]*** derisches climate. The winter is, despite the dreadful cold, still tolerable, but the summer! You will [ja see, the old and young die [scharenweise [hin from [Ruhr and typhus. Out of the sixteen children that we had, are only four still alive; nine were by [bösen illnesses [hingerafft, three drowned while fishing in the Ob. It has become somewhat better during the last years [allerdings, in particular in Kalpaschewo, which is situated on a higher [Ufergelände of the river and has less marsh, and where our new female physician, who heads the small [Spital, [menschenfreundlich wirkt]. But farther to the north, around Narym, is it now still [fürchterlich. Thanks be to God, that you here in Kalpaschewo [bleiben dürfen. In previous wars had we here Japanese civilian prisoners. They were in our school [gemeinschaftlich interniert] and after the war returned home [ziemlich heil], [die aber höher im Norden waren], are poor or absolutely not [weggekommen."

We [dankten also God and the Isprawnik for Kalpaschewo and began us [häuslich einzurichten. On three [ungleich hohen, eisenbeschlagenen Koffern, über die I one with [steinhartem Heu filled mattresses [legte, and the of the ***[109]*** Nachts in [regelmäßigen Zwischenräumen of thirty dreißig to dreißig [error in the original???] minutes with me together [hinunterrutschte, I prepared my [Lager, while my roomates in a [schmalen Strickbett, which us the [Wirt had placed at our disposal, his [nächtliches Auskommen] hoped to find. He too [täuschte sich. The [Stricke was too weak and the [Wanzen too [bissig... [Des Morgens at about six [anfertigte I [Späne, then [holte I from the large [Holzstößen, which lay before the house, and which [sich each [Einheimische in [beliebiger quantity in the woods could [schlagen, a few [Scheite and made a fire in the iron oven. After ten minutes stood the small [Wärmespender in [Rotglühhitze, and in the room the temperature rose from ten degrees below to thirty degrees above zero. Two hours later my small [Wandthermometer showed that I to me in Tomsk had [angeschafft, again five below zero, and [so schaffte I to me a [Temperaturwechsel, which by [Naturheilkünstlern lebhaft empfohlen wird]. [Äußerer Befund]: I sweated and coughed; sometimes [abwechselnd, sometimes also at the same time.

Then came the Samowar. He [dampfte and [brodelte and brought life into the [Bude. In the [Geschirrwaschen I alternated with the Herr ***[110]*** Hofrat, who not only a [vorzüglicher Verwaltungsbeamter and Cellist], rather also, as I could [fesistellen, a

[verwendbarer Hauswart is. In the [Wäschewaschen had we it [allerdings to [keiner besonderen Fertigkeit gebracht], so that we it after a failed attempt [vorzogen, us this [nützliche work from a [Dorfinsassin, who closely related to one of the Nazoratils, [gegen mäßiges Entgelt besorgen to lassen]. Who in the fortunate situation was to the police in such, almost [familiär to nennende Beziehungen to treten], and who not with the [Hut in the Hand] had to appear before the "Starschy," in order the by the Russian government daily [ausgesetzten Unterhaltungsbeitrag] of twenty-five Kopeken with the [zartfühlenden Bemerkung]: "You [mästest yourself at our expense" [eingehändigt to receive, [wird from the Nazoratil, who to [jeder beliebigen Tageszeit] his "Prowerka", the [Kontrolle, vornehmen kann, wenig belästigt]. But the Nazoratils changed like the warm and cold temperature in our room, and thus was us one day one [auf den Hals geschickt], who even could read and write and us a [Schock von Paragraphen vorhielt], against which we ourselves [möglicherweise vergehen könnten or aber — ***[111]*** he raised his voice — actually already had [vergangen. [So habe er gehört], that we once six people [gleichzeitig in one room [waren, while the [Höchstzahl of a [statthaften "gathering" was five, [überdies sei ihm mitgeteilt worden], that we our walks/hikes [weit über das Dorf ausdehnen]. This [müsse er us strenge untersagen]. I listened to the [Verwarnung stehend], [verbeugte mich stumm] and invited the [gestrengen gentleman with a [höflichen Handbewegung] to take a seat. He [zögerte. When he however with his [Blicke my Speisevorräte and the cigarettes "erster Sorte" [umfaßt had, he sat down and talked, not [mehr von uns], rather about his own, not uninteresting [Persönlichkeit. He had been a [Schustergeselle in Kasan, however, when the war broke out, he voluntarily moved to Siberia, in order there to better be able to [überwachen enemies of the Fatherland. I will, God knows, to the man, who [sich ja schließlich versöhnlicher zeigte], not [nahetreten, but I believe, that he despite his patriotic and [echtrussischen disposition only wanted to [entschlüpfen the military service. In Russia, where according to an old [Scherzwort one half of the population always is [beschäftigt with, the other half [einzusperren, [angibt it close to ***[112]*** two million such policemen, [Nazoratils, [Straschniki, Gorodowojs, [Gendarmen, and [Gefangenenaufseher of all kinds, who themselves as [unentbehrlich] declared and from whom also the [Kriegsverwaltung] believes, that they are [unentbehrlich. With these masses, out of which thirty new Army Corps could have formed, have the Central Powers [glücklicherweise ebensowenig] to [rechnen as with the hundreds of thousands of [wehrfähiger men, who in the Siberian snow-fields and marshes or in the prisons because of "political [Unverläßlichkeit" [schmachten....

We were [vorerst unter uns].

[Größeren Verkehr suchten we überhaupt not. A German [Großkaufmann from Wilna, who in peacetime the [Funktion of a German [Vizekonsuls bekleidet hatte], was still farther to the north [verschickt worden], but because he on the [Schlittenfahrt] had broken an arm, he was allowed to remain [einstweilen] in Kalpaschewo, in order to be treated in the [Spital. Then came from Inkene, a circa sixty kilometers from Kalpaschewo distant Ortschaft, [allwöchentlich two gentlemen, an Austrian and a German, in order to collect the mail. The Austrian, who was from Vienna, and who for many years had as [Gastwirt in Riga betätigte, was [samt Gattin ***[113]*** at the outbreak of war had been without [Angabe von Gründen] sent to Siberia. [Ihr Los teilten weitere] sixteen Germans and Austrians. In Inkene they rented a blockhouse in which they themselves [nach Maßgabe] of the [ihnen zur Verfügung stehenden kargen Mittel], [so gut es eben ging, einrichteten]. The [Prinzip strengster Arbeitsteilung waltete vor]. A [Fabrikanten, a Doctor of Chemistry, [zufiel the [edle Beschäftigung] of the [Staubwischens, for Herr Meißner, this being the name of the Austrian, had the [Sache] well organized and [hielt auf Zucht and Ordnung]. [Bei all this Siberian Jammer] had [sich Herr Meißner his golden Viennese [Gemüt in the [Eiswüste mitgenommen], and a [Schimmer davon fiel auch auf] Kalpaschewo, as often he [dorthin kam]. He [bildete übrigens] together with me the [unentwegte Optimistenpartei.

With the Russian [Verbannten, who at that time in Kalpaschewo numbered about forty souls, [anknüpfte I initially no [Beziehungen. A [grusinischen Fürsten I visited [allerdings two times a week, but only, [um mich von ihm rasieren to lassen. At home he was a [richtiger Fürst], for in [Grusinien is it [ungefähr jeder tenth man, but in Kalpaschewo [versah he [unverdrossen the office of a ***[114]*** barber, [rasierte however only “Politische”. To Siberia sent criminals he did not allow over his [Schwelle. This Fürst told me also in [mangelhaftem Russian [vielerlei about life in Siberia. “The pretty Jewess with the [Hakennase,” he said to me, “who you certainly must have seen [wandeln along the shore/bank every day, lives here in [zwangloser Ehe] with a [richtigen Tschornisotnik (member of the [Schwarzen Hundert]). She is by her man every week once [gründlich verprügelt, then she goes for a few days into the [Spital and then returns to him again, as if nothing had happened. Two children have already from the [Ehe bereits entsprossen]. Also [Denunzianten gibt es unter uns], and I warne Sie davor, unachtsame Äußerungen to tun], for after three days the Gendarmerie in Tomsk will learn about it, and you [werden unbarmherzig sent to Turchansk or even farther away.”

In the Leben and Treiben of the Tschaldonen — so nennt man in einem Tone leichter Herabsetzung the farmer in Siberia — I cast a glance from time to time. About the Melancholisch-Einförmige of their region they seek themselves through a by a [leisen poetic [Schimmer

[überhauchte Häuslichkeit hinwegzutrösten]. The Balalaika and the [Ziehharmonika, whose [schwer- ***[115]*** mutige] Slavic [Weisen, but also [lustige Viennese [Lieder and Berliner Gassenhauer, by Verbannten transplanted to there, [entlockt werden, are practically in each farmhouse to be found. The [Tschaldonen are in the [Durchschnitt wohlhabend] and have a [gewisses Bildungsbedürfnis], that in [allerdings recht mangelhaft] organized [Volksschulen are [gestillt. At about Christmas and New Years, that is just when we arrived there, [aufführten the [Tschaldonen, in particular their [lebenslustigen young daughter[s], [allerhand Maskenscherze, by which the [festen Beziehungen for the entire life are [angeknüpft, [Beziehungen, that before the [Traualtar in the church are [gekrönt, however [an Intimität nichts einbüßen], if the Pope [dazu his blessing not spricht].

I could also [allwöchentlich take a bath. [Allerdings with [eminenter Lebensgefahr], for the Siberian [Badestube, which is to be found in almost in every larger farmhouse, is more [auf the Bedürfnisse of the [tungusischen and ostjakischen Ureinwohner zugeschnitten]. It consists of a very small, low room, in which a [Pritsche and a small oven, wherein [Backsteine glowed [?], the entire [Einrichtung bilden]. Upon the hot stones was poured ***[116]*** [siedendes water, and in the emerging steam became the naked body [bis zur Rotglühhitze gedünstet], whereupon then with cold water to be [übergossen. My [Badeprozedur took approximately five minutes in [Anspruch, but I once saw a Ostjaken his [sündigen body in the following manner of the [Läuterung zuführen: He [ließ him at first in the [Badestube, which was eighty degrees [Hitze aufwies, ten to fifteen minutes long [durchglühen, then he hurried [splitternackt into the cold — forty degrees cold — and [herumwälzte himself ten to fifteen times in the hard-frozen snow. Then he hurried again into the [Badestube and [kehrte wieder ins Freie zurück]. This procedure lasted for an hour.

An old farmer, however [rüstig and [recht geistesfrisch, made available to me [wiederholt his Badestube, which was somewhat [geräumiger. I [interessierte the man, and he [gewann mich lieb. With his [Pelz made of [Hundefell angetan], he joined me in the [Badestube, which he had warmed the [milde temperiert], [verschränkte the arms, sat himself upon a chair that he had brought with him, and engaged with me lengthy discussions. One day he [aufwarf very [unvermittelt the question, how long that this dreadful ***[117]*** war would go on for. I shrugged my shoulders and said: “I do not know.” The [Wirt seufzte] and [hinzufügte]: “God knows, when it will end.” Then he suddenly made a short pause, looked at me with his [halb-geschlossenen schlauen] eyes [prüfend and said something to the effect of: “If there is in fact a God.” Since I did not offer an opinion and to him only looked at him straight in the face, he believed his doubt a small

[Dämpfer aufsetzen to sollen] and this time concluded his philosophical discussion with the words: “God knows, if there is a God.”

Another time the good man came to me with a small portion/dose about anarchism. He asked me: “Are there also prisons where you’re from?” I said yes and [dazumeinte] as well, that by us one is not punished for his political convictions [not mit Kerker]. Now [kam es aus ihm heraus], at first [zögernd and [stockend], then with [fließender Beredsamkeit], [welche verriet], that the man contemplated during long Siberian nights about the [Sache and himself [beinahe a [fertiges system had [gezimmert. He does not understand the rule of the one over the other, the concept of punishment has always been for him [unfaßbarn, and [wenn auch] in cultivated Europe there is punishment, ***[118]*** then this culture is not worth a red cent....

When the cold became relatively milder, I allowed myself by this man often taken across the river, and in the evening hours, when the [matten Lichtlein of Kalpaschewo [aufblinkten and the moon cast its silver light upon the houses buried deep in snow, then my friend also became poetic and referred to his native village as a nordic fairy tale... ***[119]***

In Parabel

In order the [Wiederherstellung of my due to the [arge cold and because of the Siberian kitchen [erschütterten health [bemühte sich with the [redlichsten Willen the Spitalsärztin in Kalpaschewo, who to me from her [Hausapotheke a red and a white powder with the assurance gave/handed over, that a [gleichmäßige mixture of these two powders not only the coughing would [beseitigen, sondern] also on my digestion, which under the influence of the marshy [Geschmackes of the ausgekochten Gefrierfische] had become rebellious, [wohltätig wirken werde]. The powder indeed did not [hielten the [Versprechen of the female doctor, however I finally became accustomed to [gewisse Folgeerscheinungen], which from the Russian [Behörden with the [Verschickung in the Narymski Kraj are [vorbedacht.

One day — it was about four weeks after our arrival in Kalpaschewo — the Nazoratil entered into our room, crossed himself thrice, and repeatedly called out breathlessly: “Unglück über Unglück! You are going to be sent farther north. You are going to Parabel. Pack your things, tonight we are going to [expedieren ***[120]*** you!” My companions were the same fate [widerfahren. It was, however, not a [Zufall, that here his/its [unglückliches Spiel getrieben] had, rather one of those Russian [Merkwürdigkeiten, [deren eine darin besteht], that with the [Verschickung to Siberia the

[Tätigkeit of the Russian secret police its [Ende still not had found. In Kalpaschewo [befindet sich] namely one of the two [Postämter of the Narymski Kraj. The postmaster [beschränkt himself however not only on his [Amtsobliegenheiten, rather was, as almost everywhere in Siberia, at the same time a paid member of the [berüchtigten "Ochrana". In this his [Eigenschaft had he, as I later learned, reported to the Governor in Tomsk, that the [eingelieferten Austrians much [herumtelegraphieren]. Since one us in the prisons our [Bargeld had taken from us, and we had arrived in Kalpaschewo with only a small [Nest unserer Mittel], we in fact did telegraph relatives and acquaintances in Russia, [man möge] send us money. These telegrams formed the [Anlaß of our [Trennung and [weiteren Verschickung]. My companions, who in [ärztlicher Behandlung standen], [wußten sich einen Aufschub] of their departure in their new [Verbannungsorte to [erwirken, I, however, set out two ***[121]*** days later on my journey farther into the far north.

The one hundred and eighty kilometres long stretch from Kalpaschewo to Parabel I put behind me in about twenty hours. A Desjatnik, a kind of [Gemeinderat, [bildet in the [übertragenen Wirkungskreise] my escort. He [umkümmerte himself in the stations the [Pferdewechsel and [einleitete diese seine Amtshandlung beim Jamschtschik], by the [Poststallhalter, each time with the words: "I lead here an important and [hochgestellte personage to Parabel, give us a good [Schlitten, not so a [gewöhnlichen Korb, and [vorspanne Leine] best horses!" In Togur, a neighbouring village of Kalpaschewo, I learned about the presence of an Austrian, which still two years before the outbreak of the war by the Russians to Siberia had been sent. He was called Dr. Oppel, was a doctor in Brody and one day was by the [Grenzoffizier in Nadziwillow] under [Vorspiegelung of a [Krankheitsfalles induced to cross the border. In Nadziwillow he was immediately arrested [?] and after a few months of investigation as a "spy" [auf administrativem Wege] sent to Siberia for five years. I wanted to visit him, [antraf] him however ***[122]*** not, because he had just in a [Jurte gefahren], in order there to voluntarily provide medical [Beistand. Later I heard, that he during the great typhus and [Ruhrepidemie he had been engaged by the Russian government as [Amtsarzt]. Russian doctors, who in spite of the war still [etwa zur Verfügung standen], [weigerten sich entschieden], in the [vom Sumpffieber heimgesuchten Gegenden to ziehen]. The case of Oppel is [übrigens not isolated. The Russian government [herausnahm sich schon in peacetime, Austrian citizens, who they could not [im Gerichtswege] [Nachweisen, [administrativ to [verschicken, a measure, that against/contrary to the fundamental [Grundsätze of the international [Strafrechtes verstößt]. Tragic is the following case: The Austrian citizen Adolf Maurer, likewise a native of Brody, was [Finanzwachaufseher, however left his service and [eintrat by a Polish

large land owner in [Wolhynischen as [Wirtschaftsbeamter. One day he was arrested by the Russian police. A search of his house, which was by him [vorgenommen, [förderte nichts Belastendes zutage]. The [Gericht therefore found no [Anlaß, [einzuschreiten. The police, however, sent him to Narymski ***[123]*** Kraj, because being a [Finanzwachaufseher he had also probably been spying. Maurer protested in vain, and in vain he called upon our Petersburger [Botschaft to intervene. The administrative [Erkenntnis lautete]: Two years in Siberia. I have spoken with Maurer there, and I was glad to find in him a man who, despite his frightful [Loses not [verbittert and become [vaterlandsfremd. He said to me: "I know that our government could do nothing for me. Should a war have been started with Russia because of me? I have received letters from the [Botschafter, in which he wrote to me that he would do what was possible, but he accomplished nothing. Austria-Hungary did not want war and had the [Übermut and the [Nadelstiche Iswolskys and Sasonows [ruhig ertragen, until finally the [elementare Ausbruch von selbst kam]." Maurer's [Verbannungszeit] ended in May 1915. He turned to the Governor in Tomsk with the request, [man möge ihn, since they indeed did not want to let him travel home, [nunmehr] until the end of the war in Narymski Kraj [belassen, because he there already [eingelebt sei] and as [Biediensteter by a Siberian farmer a small [Erwerb had found. ***[124]*** His request was [abschlägig beschieden], and he was [verschleppte as a "Kriegsverpflichteten" [per Etappe to the [Tobolskischen. It was his second [qualvolle Etappenfahrt].

Along the way I stayed for a few hours of the night in Inkene. At the time I already well knew, how one it [anstellen muß, in order in a warm [Stube to [gelangen. I said to the [Kutscher: "Drive me to a house where 'Sylnij' (Verschickte) live." The [Kutscher [vorfuhr before the house of the mayor of Inkene. It was a [stattlicher Holzbau, in whose [Obergeschoß resided six [Verbannte, two [Reichsdeutsche] and four Jews from Kowno. It was twelve o'clock, the door was, as all house doors in are Narymski Kraj, open, and I climbed up the steep wooden steps. My [Gastfreunde immediately got up from their beds, one [blies in the half [erloschene Kohlenglut] of the Samowars and another prepared for me a [Lager on the [Diele. We chatted, drank tea, and then went to sleep in the large [Gemach, as if we were old acquaintances. In Parabel, in Lugowskoje, and in Narym, where I [nacheinander wohnte, machte I it later [ebenso]. I [aufnahm jeden Verbannten über Nacht gastfreundlich. There are no inns in Narymski Kraj. ***[125]***

In [hurtigen Trab, at times in [gestreckten Galopp, [weiterführten me the [Postpferde the next morning. I sat [weit zurückgelehnt in the [Fond of the [Schlittens, while the Desjatnik to my feet [kauerte. The thermometer indicated twenty-four degrees

below zero, but it [herrschte vollständige Windstille]. [Offenbar in order to keep himself warm, the [Kutscher screamed as though possessed [?] and [einschlug] the horse [unbarmherzig, indem] he each time in [weitem Bogen] the whip swung. Then he suddenly became silent. The large, icy solitude enveloped us. We had all become [nachdenklich], and something like melancholia [aufstieg] in me. I was by my companions seperated and rode out into the new, [entsetzliche], unknown, ever farther to the north. Then [hineinhorchte I a little in myself. So [fremd, einsam and verlassen] as I was, a [wenig Abenteuerlust schlummerte doch on the [Grunde my soul. Now will I see, how I alone [durchkomme —, whether the [unbeugsame] optimism, to which I myself until now [freudig bekannt] had, me also further would accompany/escort? At the time I still did not know about, that many thousands from Galicia and Bukowina the same destiny would [widerfahren. We were [ja the [allerersten, who in the ***[126]*** by the Russian occupied territories the [Verhaftung, the [Etappe and the [Verschickung had befallen [?]... Then it became [mir wieder wirr] in the head. [Was geht da vor? How am I then actually to Siberia [gekommen? It is certainly only a bad dream?... Suddenly I felt myself again [gehoben from the [Bewußtsein, in this [blutiggroßen time to be somewhere, einer, der an diese weite, weite front in farthest East and in the far north was [vorgedrungen... “There’s Parabel!” the Kutscher suddenly cried, [indem he pointed with the [Peitschenstiel toward a from the horizon [sich scharf abhebende group of houses. I [richtete mich] up and looked out. We had the riverbed of the Ob [verlassen and drove now on the ice sheet of a large lake, which by mighty [Nadelwäldern was surrounded. High over our heads circled the [Raben and [Dohlen, which here are [merkwürdig quiet. At a distance of five to six [Werst a village could be seen, which [sich recht imposant ausnahm]. The houses, which from a distance looked [stattlich, were by a massive church with a gold [schillernder Kuppel überragt]. The closer we came to the village, the more [nüchterner and armseliger] it became, and to me [einfiel by this [Gelegenheit the [schöne ***[127]*** episode, that the [Liebling of the Empress Catherine, the Grave Potemkin, to a [gewissen Unsterblichkeit verholfen] had. Russian churches [ausnehmen sich] from a distance always decorative, and the good Potemkin had it [unschwer getroffen, the tempermental [Herrscherin with [Pappe and Verschiebhölzern blühende] villages [vorzutäuschen. [Wenn a good [gemalte Russian church [dabei war, stood there also already the Potemkinsche village [fertig.

The people of Parabel are by far more intelligent and cultivated than the people of Kalpaschewo. Poles and Jews [nahmen in earlier years, when still [innerhalb of the Narymski Kraj for the [Verbannten Freizügigkeit herrschte], with [Vorliebe in Parabel [Aufenthalt, and they [herbeiführten the [Umwandlung of the Parabel farmers to

[Kleinbürger]. They [lernten bessere Tische] and [Stühle zimmern] and [anbrachten even [kattunene Vorhänge on their windows. Singers sewing machines found their way into each house, and the shops, four in number, began aside from the [gewöhnlichen Gebrauchsgegenständen] also [Konserven, candies, and [Wurstwaren to [führen. [Avis: With [Vorsicht to enjoy! This [Vorsicht anwandte] I [allerdings first, when my [Verdauungsstörungen a serious [Wendung nahmen. I ***[128]*** overcame it and [einfand] myself finally in my new [Verbannungsort. Since my [Bücherschatz, that I in a [Tomsker Buchhandlung] had [ausgegraben, was very small and only a few [Reclam-Nummern and three old French novels [umfaßte], I had to with the lecture [Haushalten] and myself [mehr aufs Nachdenken], sing — yes, I sang! — and [Spazierengehen verlegen]. The [Spaziergänge ausdehnte] I ever farther. At first I only went until in the a few Werst distant small [Ansiedlungen, the [Attinenzen of Parabel. They consist of twenty to thirty farmsteads, which are situated close beside one another, since there are now gardens and in [großen Narymski Kraj nothing so [kostbar is as land, meaning dry land, which from the marsh [herausragt. In winter one does not notice this [freilich]. [Desto more however in the summer, if one from village to village, [vielfach] also from house to house the marshy streams and ponds with the [Kahn has to [überqueren. Later I ventured [?] over the [besiedelten Umkreis]. Three, four, and five hours long I [vorrückte]. From time to time I looked around me. I had to find for the return way [Anhaltspunkte], a large [Weidenbaum, a higher [Flußböschung. I ***[129]*** came to the Ob and to the Ket, which [zwar in [Verhältnisse von Haupt- and Nebenfluß zueinander] flowed, long stretches, however, flowed parallel and after the [Schneeschmelze sich meilenweit] to a large [Meer vereinigen]. The cold [ertrug I well. The “Walinki”, high, reaching up to the [Oberschenkel, from a piece of [gefertigte Filzstiefel, a [kurzer Pelz aus Hundefellen], thick [Fäustlinge and a with [mächtigen Ohrlappen versehene Pelzmütze bildeten my [Adjustierung, in which I, to the great astonishment of the [Einheimischen in Parabel, the forty degree [Froste standhielt]. The [Kaufmann, by whom I [Einkäufe besorgte], said to me [übrigens: “You Austrians are [ja us [gegenüber richtige Südländer], but in [euch steckt große Widerstandskraft]. I saw in Tomsk captured Austrian soldiers, who were working in the [größten Kälte] wearing thin coats [im Freien verrichten]. That [treffen we children of the cold not.” In this manner are the poor soldiers in the Russian press still [verhöhnt, because they without [Pelze] in the war [geschickt worden seien]. that it sich about soldiers handelte, who in August and September had ended up in captivity, [wurde by these [Menschenfreunden likewise [verschwiegen as the [Tatsache, ***[130]*** that in Austria-Hungary and Germany for the Russian prisoners [von Amts wegen] for warm clothing [gesorgt wurde, obwohl] to my knowledge the Siberian cold

in the two [Zentralstaaten not heimisch] is.

The Siberian landscape also has its [Reize. [Wenn I to the [Himmel hinaufsah], of the [Tages, when the sun as a white [Scheibe with a [dünnen Schimmer of pink/rose upon the snow and ice [bedeckte earth [hinabblickte, so [fremd, as though this earth [gehöre absolutely not to its [Feuerkreis, I remembered [mich an the zarten Impressionen Pierre Lotis], who on his [isländischen Fahrten in [schwermütige Stimmungen geriet], when/if he with [freiem Auge the [Konturen of the [Sonnene scheibe could see. and [erst this Siberian night! The [blasse Geselle annimmt there colors that [bis ins Dunkelrot gehen], the stars [um ihn are very [bestimmt the [gleichen, however they [scheinen dort andere Wohnungen im Himmelszeltlager bezogen] to have. The [Birke, which around Kalpaschewo [herum are still to be seen, and whose dark branches in [mondhellen nights in the air to seem to sway, because the [weißrindigen Stämme] in the snow [verschwimmen, is here not [mehr heimisch. The [Ufergelände are with [Weiden, Ebereschen and Erlen bewachsen, and ***[131]*** from out of my window I glaubte, that behind these [Gesträuch auch schon the immergrüne Urwald beginne. Mindestens aber twenty kilometers [liegen dazwischen. Many, many hours [wandelte] I alone, God knows with what [for] thoughts and [Träumereien beschäftigt], through snow and ice. The small [Dampfwölkchen, which around me [aufschwebten], verdichteten] and [kristallisierten sich] immediately to [feinen dünnen Nadelchen], which like [Feuerfunken] on the exposed parts of the skin [fielen].

Also in my room was I alone and the solitude was good for me. I [prüfte often my [Gedächtnis, suchte Gedichte], that I had learned thirty years earlier [auswendig, to [zitieren and [freute mich] like a child, when it [ging. One day I heard from the [Erdgeschoß, where my [Wirtin lived, in Polish voice [hinaufrufen: “Is the Herr Doctor from Austria at home and may one [hinaufkommen?” Before I could even reply, [knarrte the wood steps under the heavy [Tritt of a man who in his [kleidsamen Polish national [tracht [auf the first sight the Polish [Landedelmann erkennen ließ]. He [trat auf mich zu, breitete the arms wide out and pulled me toward him, in order me five, six times ***[132]*** [abzuküssen. Only then did he introduce himself. He had heard about me, and since he had suspected that I was in [Not, he had come, in order to help me. I [dankte gerührt. Es fehle mir an nichts], but his visit [sei to be heartfelt welcomed. From this man I heard much about the dreadful [Vergangenheit of the Poles of 1863 in Narymski Kraj. In the primeval forests molder the bones of many thousands of Pole, who perished from hunger and marsh fever. The church, which they had built in Narym, was confiscated from them by the Russians and converted into an Orthodox church. Today it is [baufällig geworden] and [blickt] with [ihrem verwitterten Gestein] in a large marsh, which it soon [verschlingen] will. Also the Russians have [sie] in the

meantime [verlassen].

I listened to the man's long, [erschütternden] story, without [mit] a [Miene] to betray, what in me [vorging]. Only when he was finished with his [Ausführungen], did I ask in [gezwungen ruhigem Tone]: "How could the Poles [angesichts] these things [überhaupt jemals] on the [wahnwitzige] idea [kommen], a new [Orientierung im Anschluß] to the Russians to [suchen]?..." ***[133]***

In Parabel erlebte I also a Auflehnung, die sich direkt gegen mich richtete. One day erschienen all of the Parabeller Verbannten, sixteen men and two women strong, bei mir, in order mir durch ihren spokeman, a Latvian worker, their Unzufriedenheit darüber auszudrücken, that I for my room seven Rubel per month pay and so the Teuerung nach Parabell hineintrage. I setzte ihnen auseinander, that I for this money also Bettzeug as well as allerlei Dienstleistungen receive, and that the Siberian Bevölkerung in allgemeinen von den ausländischen Verschickten ganz andere Preise fordere. Nach scharfer Replik and Duplik ließen sich meine Gäste besänftigen and the Verkehr war hergestellt. Typen aller Art lernte I da kennen. Lebhaft erinnere I mich on a brief Gespräch, that I bei dieser Gelegenheit had with a Verbannten, who was a member of the "Trudowiki" (bäuerliche workers party from the first Duma), weil aus diesem Gespräch ganz besonders the zwiespältige, in ihren Zielen and Wünschen unklare Natur of the Russian Mannes aus dem Volke zutage trat. First my new friend, who was from Moscow, said: "Warum kommen denn not finally the Germans and Austrians to Moscow, in order us there from ***[134]*** the [abscheulichen Druck] of the Russian Behörden to liberate?" The [Hauch of his voice was still warm, when he [hinzufügte: "What [mich betrifft, after the war I will go to Lemberg, in order there [Hochschulstudien to [treiben." I [einwandte bescheiden]: "How, as a [Stockrusse wollen you study at a Polish university?" The Trudowiker sprang auf, warf seine Mähne zurück and rief in schreiendem Tone: "Oh, Lemberg is Russian and will remain Russian. We will also establish a Russian university there." With the Latvians, who among the before or after outbreak of the war to Siberia [Verschickten a erheblichen Prozentsatz bilden and who from all Ständen and Berufen rekrutieren, I had back then and later [manches interessante Gespräch geführt. A [erheblichen contrast [bildeten the almost [durchweg German names of these Latvians (Ullmann, Blankenstein, Blumenthal) to [ihrer in the times of the Russian Revolution [erworbenen Germanophobic [Gesinnung. One always said to me time and again: "Seven hundred years had the Germans [bei us geherrscht, now we would finally [drankommen, under the so-called [Zepter of the Tsars or [auch anders." A social and not a national question [kam in diesen primi- ***[135]*** tiveir words to the expression. Also an [Esthen will I erwähnen, who had been banished to Siberia, but after his [Verbannungszeit ended his family to the

Narymski Kraj brought and himself there as a Mechaniker, Schlosser, Tischler, Ölfabrikant and Allerweltskünstler niederließ. He [besaß a large Kinderschar and an ill wife. He had renounced all politics. “Politics is not for me,” he said to me, “politics [tötet in Russia. And also for that reason I have remained here. I work, read, and [mache Erfindungen. I [horche schon] with [klopfendem Herzen hinüber], wenn aus Russia new Nachrichten kommen, but I keep quiet and rühre mich nicht.” That I also in rare [?] cases [von Snobismus stieß, brachte mich not weiter in Erstaunen. There must also be young people who from [Neugierde and from the [Verlangen heraus], also [dabei gewesen to be, the [Verschickung to Siberia “durchsetzen“.

Three weeks was I already in Parabel when I from the “Wolost”, the [Gemeindekreisverwaltung, which had its seat in in Parabel, a telegram and a letter [zugestellt erhielt]. The telegram was the first news from the homeland in five years. I could it [ent- ***[136]*** ziffern, despite it being [arg verstümmelt, and had to a quarter-hour [innehalten, in order... finally I had to myself indeed also once [ausweinen. Then I read the letter. It was from my [Schicksalsgenossen. They informed me, that they have been [auf telegraphischem Wege] to Tomsk called, from where they will travel to Kiev. They [ausdrückten sich, offenbar] in order me not to [kränken, carefully and wrote, that they did not know, whether their journey [to the Zwecke of an exchange [erfolge.... I was [aus the [Aktion ausgeschlossen and remained in Siberia. However, in order to me [Gewißheit to [verschaffen, I decided to travel to Narym to the Pristaw. The Starschy gave to me a [Passierschein, and with this ausgerüstet, the following morning I drove/continued onward to the north toward Narym. ***[137]***

In the Capital City Narym

The Pristaw is a [mächtiger man. There are in Russia Pristaws, who have somehow hinaufgedient themselves from [Schreiber to the police lieutenant, and there are those, [welche ihrem Feldwebels-oder Unterleutnantsrang Ade sagen, in order as Pomotschnik of the Pristaws or — je nach dem Grad der Protektion — as Pristaw an Utschastok — Polizeirayon — to erhalten. There are however also Russian captains, colonels, and [Generalmajore, who their service, be it voluntary, be it forced, leave/give up, in order as Pristaw with [Aussicht auf career [bis to the Isprawnik or “Polizmiester” a [gesichertes Nebeneinkommen of thirty to forty thousand Rubel annually to [suchen and to find. Very [begehrt are in Russia Utschastoks, where many Jews reside, because out of the [Auslegung of the Wohn- and Ansiedlungsrechtes of the Jews for the Pristaw [regelmäßige and [steigerungsfähige Einkünfte fließen. When the Russians in Galicia marched in and there the so-called [Verwaltung

established, Galician Pristaw posts by [unternehmungslustigen people financed and with fifty to one hundred thousand ***[138]*** Rubel paid. [Sie sollen not ganz auf ihre Rechnung gekommen sein, because [sowohl the [Herren Vorgesetzten as also the [Herren Untergebenen of the Pristaw by the Erlangung of the [Stellen likewise high [Kapitalien had invested, which with [einigem Gewinn amortisiert werden mußten, and because the Dunajec-Durchbruch came unexpectedly early.

The Pristaw in Narym gilt as a poor man. He is selbst gewissermaßen a Verschickter and unterscheidet sich from the Verschleppten only darin, that he not per Etappe in the gesegnete land on the Ob kommt. In the summer [umherschlich the Pristaw like all of us, from marsh fever and the Ruhr erfaßt, with eingefallenen, fahlen Wangen and brennenden eyes and waited for winter with [Sehnsucht, der ihm ermöglicht, himself in the großen, großen Pelz to stecken and his office as [oberster Chef] of all Nazoratil and [Verbannten to walten. The Siberian farmers do not concern themselves [about] the Pristaw, and if from time to time a [einheimische] housewife is arrested because she despite the prohibition on alcohol [irgendein] homebrewed [Schnapsgetränk, called Samosatka, had in [Umlauf gebracht, the others laughed and [brauten weiter]. In the autumn of 1915 I heard from a man, ***[139]*** who [es wissen muß], that one year prohibition on alcohol to the Russian Empire had cost three hundred thousand [human] lives. So many died from poisoning, die sie sich durch den Genuß alkoholhältiger Surrogate zugezogen hatten that all Duftwässer, Kölnisches Wasser and perfumes, [soweit they only traces of alcohol [aufwiesen, den ungewöhnlichen Weg through the Gurgel and Speiseröhre the Russian farmer nahmen, is also outside of Russia [bekannt geworden.

Doch now is it is high time to return to my Pristaw, [bei dem I in Narym [vorsprach, in order myself to [erkundigen, wherefore I in Siberia [geblieben sei, while my companions almost as free men, will [heißen, without [Etappe were allowed to return to Kiev. The Pristaw was [verlegen and asked me [zögernd: “To which confession do you belong?” — “That is in this case [gleichgültig,” said I. „I ask you as an Austrian citizen, wherefore you my companions, with [denen I [gleichzeitig and under the [gleichen Beschuldigung of the Russian [Behörden were arrested, [zurückbefördert haben, while I in Narymski Kraj must remain.” — “Machen Sie ein Gesuch and überschicken you it [durch me to the Governor.” I declined. “I have until now [keine ***[140]*** Gesuche to the Russian [Behörden überreicht and will it also [fürderhin not do,“ said I.

“then ask [Sie beim Governor in Tomsk by telegraph, with the same [telegraphischen Anfragecan Sie sich auch an den amerikanischen Botschafter in Petersburg wenden.“

I have the [Rat of the Pristaws befolgt and both telegrams [abgehen lassen. From the Governor I received after two months the [Bescheid, that the Russian Ministerium of the Innern only my four companions to Kiev [zurückbefördern ließ, while my name in the [betreffenden Erlasse not erwähnt gewesen sei]. The American [Botschafter answered me absolutely not. [Bei the answer of the Governor [ließ I it not [bewenden. I asked [beim damaligen Minister of the Interior, Maklakow, in a letter [an, wherefore I [von the [Aktion ausgeschlossen worden sei]. In late summer 1915, shortly before my [infolge Austausches erfolgten] journey home, [mitteilte the Pristaw to me the Minister's answer. The [Generalgouverneur of Galicia, Graf Bobrynski, [hieß it in his answer, [habe my companions to the exchange [gegen the [Angehörigen of the brothers Gerowski [bestimmt and zur Erleichterung of the Vorganges ihre Überstellung to Kiev ver- ***[141]*** langt. I however [sei vom Grafen Bobrynski in this exchange-affair not [einbezogen worden. Bei this opportunity the Pristaw said to me: "Oh, the Russian [Behörden are very well informed. Your companiosn [wurden as Austrian [Tschinowniki von Rang verhaftet and to Siberia verschleppt. You, however, are according to the [vorliegenden Berichten [we have] the allergefährlichste Austrian."

I replied lachend: "I can you [darauf only dasjenige say, what I to the Gendarmerieoffizier in Winnitza geantwortet habe, when he to me [mitteilte, that the Russian police auf mich a besonderes Augenmerk richten müsse." The Pristaw looked at me [fragend, and I [fortfuhr: "I said at the time: It is to me a [Auszeichnung, if the powerful Russia and the [allmächtige Russian police fears [gerade me small man from the Bukowina so much."

I remained with/at Bewilligung of the Behörde zunächst a few weeks in Narym. In this Zentrum of the Narymski Kraj I got to know a few German families from [Innern Russia, who soon after the outbreak of war under/among the [nichtigsten Vorwänden administrativ] were sent to Siberia. They were very ***[142]*** depressed. With their personal fate, that they/to them the [entsetzlichsten Entbehrungen] in this by God and Menschen verlassenen region had [auferlegt, hätten sie sich schon irgendwie abgefunden. But the [Lektüre Russian newspapers with the [prahlerischen Ankündigungen] of the advance toward Berlin and Vienna [erfüllte sie with schwerster Sorge. Es gelang mir, them seelisch wieder aufzurichten. I was about the [Überlegenheit of the German and Austro-Hungarian Waffen so sehr überzeugt, that it was easy for me in my words a [Ton hineinzulegen, der suggerierend wirkte. The Russians were at the time deep into the Carpathians East Prussia, but my optimism worked wonders. I wurde to the prophets. "In the coming days," said I, "will the Russen, who themselves across the East Prussian front [auffallend ausschweigen, there their catastrophe [erleben." When in the next week[s] the post new

newspapers brought and we the [verschämte Eingeständnis of the Russian General Staff about the [Unglück, that the Tenth Army [zugestoßen sei, read, [wobei allerdings offcially was reported that the Russian Colonel Miasajedow had the Germans [alles verraten and therefore had been hanged, were my German friends by my ***[143]*** strategic [Scharfblick so [sehr überzeugt, that they [aufrichtig bedauerten, that my great military [Kenntnisse in Siberia aufs Eis gelegt werden mußten. Als ich, noch immer getragen von my durch nichts to erschütternden Zuversicht, the great offensive in Galicia [prophezeite, zuhörte man mir with [Rücksicht auf the wiederholt kundgegebene Gutachten of the Russian military [Autoritäten, who Dunajec-Front sei uneinnehmbar, mit bangen Zweifel. I however [stieg zur ersten, außer Wettbewerb stehenden militärischen Autorität of the Narymski Kraj samt Umgebung auf, when our offensive in Galicia came and the Zerschmetterung of the Russian Carpathian Army zur not mehr abzuleugnenden Tatsache became. Since I also [gegenüber the Russian Polizeibeamten aus my Siegeszuversicht kein Hehl machte, said to me one of these gentlemen [beim Abschied] at the end of August 1915 with [herablassender Vertraulichkeit ins Ohr: “Da have the Russian [Behörden wieder a richtige Dummheit made; gerade Sie with [Ihren considerable military Kenntnissen geben we in the Austauschwege heraus.“ I can you now endgültig beruhigen. Immediately after my return to the Fatherland I could [konstatieren, that the [erforderlichen military ***[144]*** Stellen are recht gut besetzt and that our Conrad aller menschlichen Voraussicht nach not in the Lage kommen wird, auf meine strategischmilitärische Mitwirkung to reflektieren. I am therewith zufrieden, and my Polizeivorgesetzter in Narym wird, if to him somehow these Zeilen fall into his hands, his nights no longer sleepless pass/spend. In this [Beziehung can his Russian fatherland [ruhig sein.

[An dieser Stelle möchte I übrigens about the beginning of stronger [Kriegsbegeisterung gehobene] Russian Volksstimmung and about the [Wandlungen of this [Stimmung a bit [einschalten, what I right after my return [nach Siberia in a [Aufsatze: “How one thinks in Russia about peace” gesagt habe:

In the Russian Volksbewußtsein [galt not the capitulation of Przemysl as the high point of the Russian success. [Kenner of the Russian Volksseele] said to me at the time: “Echt and ungetrübt was the joy with the occupation of Lemberg by the Russian troops, what you are now seeing, however, is only a [dürftiger Abklatsch] of those days. The flags that wave from the [Giebeln and balconies, kommen aus zweiter Hand — denken Sie on the Russian police —, the Dank-***[145]*** gottesdienste veranstalteten the Popen and not the populace…”

Dem Falle Przemysls were the bloody battles in Carpathia [vorangegangen, and only diese had bewirkt the Kriegsmüdigkeit in Russia. Sick and wounded soldiers who returned from the front, said:

“These mountains are our undoing, the Russian people is being bled there, do not believe the newspapers, we are not victorious in the Carpathians, we are dying there.”

Wir siegen not — we die, we are children of the steppe, we can not [klettern... The Carpathians and not the Masurian Lakes were the [Schrecken of the Russian people. The annihilation of the Tenth Russian Army [hervorrief keine besondere Trauer, the capture of Przemysls no particular [Freude. We have Lemberg, [was suchen we eigentlich noch?

Still could one not speak about [Friedenssehnsucht. But the [bangen Zweifel waren] there. One began [Anschauungen, which in the [Volksbewußtsein deep [verankert to sein schienen, to [überprüfen, and was the Russian government and military circles with [verblüffender Geschicklichkeit to [suggerieren verstanden hatten]: Russia [abwehre a [Angriffskrieg of the “Germans,” [begegnete just after the [Übergabe Przemysls ***[146]*** to the Russian [Belagerungsarmee der herbsten Kritik. Good, said the people, now we have Przemysl. The [furchtbaren Opfer, which us this fortification had cost, without that we us [rühmen dürfen, also only a fort to have taken by assault, [seien vergessen, but wherefore must we still go over the [Karpathen-Pässe? Here something did not [stimmt. [Erst hieß es, that only in Berlin the peace dictated [werden könne, Vienna [sei Nebensache, Austria exists with the [Frühherbsttagen 1914 absolutely not more; now it suddenly means, that in Budapest our [Heil liege. Why [gerade in Budapest, and how should we [hingelangen?

In Petersburg felt the [hohen Kreise, that something was not in [Ordnung in the Russian [Volksstimmung. The [Kriegsverwaltung, which [sich since the beginning of the war in the [hauptstädtischen press in the [Rubrik: “What say the military authorities?” [hören ließ, saw one, that the [kleinen Mittel], like [Prophezeiungen over the next major operations and the [Einnahme of the “fortress” Rzeszow, Tarnow etc. not [recht verfangen wollten]. They called on the diplomats and the nationalists for help. In the “Birschewija Wjedomosti” [erklärte the from Hungary [stammende Herr Propper: Budapest is ***[147]*** at this moment more important than Berlin. In Hungary, where the [Unabhängigkeitspartei in the [nächsten Tagen] the [Herrschaft an sich reißen wird], is everything for a [Separatfrieden with Russia prepared — [einschlagen we the direction to Budapest, Germany stands there [verlassen. In the “Wetschernaja Poschta” was also still once the [polternde nationalism [ins Feld geschickt]. The Russian people sbould by his [Ehrgefühl be [gepackt. What [faseln, schrieb, no, shouted the [Leitartikler of this paper, our [Publizisten and military critics about a [Aushungern of Germany? [Mögen England and France themselves with this success [begnügen — it was the first openly [geführte Hieb against the [Bundesgenossen

—, we want more and will more [erreichen. If the German civilian population [krepiert from hunger — I quote word for word —, will we us [ja gewiß freuen], but we [wollen our national [Kriegskunst to the triumph [führen. The Germans say, we [hätten alle] culture from them, but the strategy and the [Kraft, with which we will [sie niederwerfen], is [Eigenbesitz of the Russian people. The article was [auf] command of all [offiziösen papers [nachgedruckt. [Separatabdrucke were distributed in the trenches. Without success. ***[148]*** Przemysl said to the Russian people nothing, also not, when the Petersburg [Telegraphenagentur [ihm with the [Meldung aufwartete], the "Neue Freie Presse" [sei, [als sich] the Austrian [Armeeoberkommando two weeks later finally had [entschlossen, the fall of the [Festung zuzugeben], with [Trauerrand erschienen] and had their [Leitartikel with "Finis Austriae" [überschrieben.

Then came the May and June days. The [verworrenen and [unverständlichen reports of the Russian General Staff about the German-Austrian offensive in the western Carpathians [machten finally the [Bekenntnis Platz: We have suffered heavy losses and stand now on the San Front. A new [Losung was [ausgegeben: [Schaffet us ammunition and we will be victorious. In the Russian people [ward however the in the [Unterbewußtsein always [vorhanden gewesene Ahnung zur vollen Gewißheit]. The war is lost, [unrettbar lost, it was said. [Großfürst Nikolai Nikolajewitsch [beschritt a [doppelten Weg]: he [beschuldigte in fairly [unverhüllter Form] the Allies of the [Unfähigkeit and of the [Treubruches and [vorbereitete the Anglophobia, which soon afterwards so [üppig in the Halme schießen sollte], [verkündete however at the same time, that the ***[149]*** retreat by the Russians [nunmehr a [wohlüberlegter and [planmäßiger sei], the advance of the "Austro-Germans" however will the same fate [begegnen as as that by Napoleon in the year 1812. [Phrasen, nothing but [Phrasen, said the Russian [Gesellschaft] to this.

When Lemberg fell, [entrang sich still [mancher schwere Seufzer] the Russian [Herzen. The arrival of German troops in Warsaw, however. [begegnete allgemeiner Teilnahmslosigkeit], and [selbst the [echtesten Russian people [abfanden themselves with the [Tröste: Poland is not holy Russian soil. Perhaps is it here the place, to say: the true Russian is not [Panslawist, he is Russian and only Russian.

When the [verbündeten armies time and again to the east pushed forward, sought once again to sound out the [Stimmung of the Russian people. An active Russian General, Professor at the Petersburg Military Academy, published with [voller Namensfertigung, offenbar auf höheren Auftrag, in the "Den" an article, in which he said to the effect: What would [schließlich for Russia the loss of Poland mean? We have in the last two hundred years fifty wars conducted, of which we have only won twelve. Yet our

state is [immer greater and ***[150]*** mightier become. In central Russia and in Asia [liegt the source of our power... One had the "Den", a radical, closely [überwachtes by the government paper, [gewählt, in order the [Schein jeder Offiziosität] to [vermeiden, but the public [umriß sich the paper, and everywhere one heard it said: Our government wants to [Frieden schließen. Sie sei gesegnet].

It turned out differently. England viewed the article in "Den" as a threat addressed to them and worked with [Hochdruck against the "Friedensseuche" in the highest Russian circles. The effort [gelang, and the Russian government now had to also [gegenüber the Russian public [einlenken. At first were great [Erfolge auf Gallipoli gedichtet]. Constantinople, [hieß it in the Kommentaren, sei] indeed not as [Ostergeschenk the Russians [zugefallen, but England [verfolge there with [Beharrlichkeit and [unausbleiblichem success the Russian [Kriegsziele. This version [versöhnte the Russians indeed not with the English, [blieb however not [ganz ohne Eindruck]. [Sie bildete the [Präludium zur "great patriotic [Tagung" of the duma.

It was the [geschickteste Schachzug of the Russian government. The old Goremykin [spielte ***[151]*** suddenly the [Fortschrittler, he [entledigte himself [Maklakows, konferierte, almost like a [parlamentarischer minister, with [Dumadeputierten and [beauftragte the [Zensur, the reports about the [Begründung of a [Blocks der Linken, auf den sich the government in the Duma [stützen würde, not dem Rotstift to sacrifice. Herr Miljukow bathed in the [Seligkeit and — wurde the [Haupt of the [Kriegspartei in the Duma, his best friend, Schingarew, who [unerbittliche critic of the [Barkschen Finanzpolitik], [avancierte to the official [Lobredner of the "national Verteidigung" with help neuer Milliarden, that without Goldbedeckung to the [Drucke and for the [Ausgabe gelangen sollten. Suchomlinow wurde of the Armeeverwaltung geopfert, and the Dumapräsident Rodsjanko, an [Oktobrist in Tiefschwarz, [andeutete the journalists, [es sei not unmöglich], that he would be as the first [parlamentarischer minister in the [Kabinett berufen. The [Träume Rodsjankos zerrannen] soon thereafter, but the government had the [Spiel, which [wohlinszeniert and säuberlich had been prepared, won. In the [großen Dumatagung went the [schüchternen Einwendungen of the [grusinischen socialists [Tschechidse and of the leader of the agrarian [Abgeordneten in the [lärmenden ***[152]*** Pathos of the Kadetten and nationalists under. The objective [?] was achieved, the [Friedenssehnsucht of the Russian people, who in the Duma [sichtbaren Ausdruck had finden können, was [gewaltsam erstickt...

After this political excursion, which to me my reader [verzeihen mögen, I take up again the [Faden of the story.

Our circle [erweiterte sich] from day to day. not only from the Russian [Grenzgebieten brought new [Verbannte, German colonists and [hauptsächlich Jews, [sondern also from Galicia, Bukowina, and

East Prussia came new [Zuzug. Narym was often only [Durchzugsstation. Many went after a short rest on the [Etappe onward to the north, to Kargasok, Timskoje, and Kalgujak. The latter was the [Strafkolonie unter den Strafkolonien]. Through personal intervention by/at the Narym police [behörde I managed a few Austrians [vor Kalgujak to [bewahren, and when I on these places [davon also Erwähnung [tue, that I [notleidenden Austrians and Germans with money, with [Wäsche, and articles of clothing [beisprang, so [bitte I [dringendst, [darin not the unbescheidene Hervorkehrenof my Wohltätigkeitssinnes to erblicken. Wohlhabende relatives ***[153]*** that I have in Russia, [stellten to me the [Geldmittel reichlich zur Verfügung], and it was my [einziger Trost and my [Halt in this most difficult time of my life, my unfortunate [Schicksalsgenossen beispringen] to be able to. When I [materielle and [seelische Not lindern could, I helped to me myself over the [Qualvolle of these days [hinweg. At the time I learned the [beglückende Gefühl verstehen], that in the missionaries wandering in the wilderness [empfinden können, who not with fire and sword, rather with word and helpful deed their belief/faith new believers gain.

How one [sich in the Siberian [Einöde findet]?

An old saying: The Earth is so large and yet so small. One evening I had in my [dürftiges Gemach auf] “Kamtschatka”, a [Vororte Naryms, several German families to a “Abendessen” invited. I had with help of one of the ladies and my [Hauswirtin a [schönes Fischgericht, tea, and [Butterbrot prepared, and thus we sat around the small [Petroleumlämpchen, which I had supplemented with two candles, and ate, drank, smoked, and chatted. One of the guests, about whom I would like to say a few [an dieser Stelle] kind words — it was the [Buchhändler Bonn, who with his ***[154]*** [Angehörigen to me about [manche traurige Stunde hinweghalf] —, [entfernte sich wegen Unwohlseins] already at about ten o’clock in the evening. One hour later he again yanked open the door and [erzählte breathlessly:

“An interesting [Neuigkeit for you, Herr Doctor! my son, who had turned eighteen years old and [es vorzog, voluntarily to [mir] to Siberia to go, in order not [per Etappe hergeschickt] to be, has just arrived. Along the way he me several of your fellow countrymen. Among them was also the Czernowitz [Advokat Dr. Ebner, who was sent to Parabel and was very [verzweifelt, when he did not meet you there.”

For a moment I was [starr vor Überraschung]. Then [faßte I myself and already the next morning I drove back to Parabel, in order to greet my countrymen. Aside from Dr. Ebner was a [Gymnasiast from Czernowitz there, who the Russians had [auf der Straße aufgegriffen] and sent to Siberia, then a [Finanzbeamter and a young farmer from a village by Czernowitz.

Or the following case:

I am at the post office in Narym, in order to the [soundso vielten time in vain for mail ***[155]*** from home to ask, then/there opened the door in came the [Administrationsrat of the Bukowina griechisch-orientalischen Religionsfonds], Dr. Adelsberger. Despite the [entsetzlichen Verwüstungen, which the [eben absolvierte Etappe an seinem Äußern hervorgerufen hatte], I immediately recognized him, went toward him and shook his hand [stumm]. He [replied] the handshake heartily. At home, despite we were once [inniger Schulkameradschaft] had drifted apart due to political reasons, here the old friendship rekindled [wie mit einem Schlage], and as if between us never [etwas vorgefallen wäre].

One day a transport Hungarian gypsies [?] arrived, who had in Russia [aufgehalten and had been to Siberia [abgeschoben. They heard about me and without [staatsrechtliche Bedenken] they immediately [vorstellten themselves as [Landsleute, who I had to help. These gypsies [belebten the [einförmige Bild of Narym. They occupied a partially [dilapidated] wood shack on the edge of the village and there [abrichteten they a young [Bären, who had been out of a [Höhle ausgehoben] and in Narym [gemütlich walked around. This bear was only a few months later [an the Kette gelegt], after he ***[156]*** a farmboy, who to him a piece of bread handed/reached, had torn off the hand until to the [Wurzel.

In dense groups the Jewish [Verbannten lived in Narym. They sought themselves somehow to [betätigen: as [Tischler, backers, tailors, and butchers. They had been forcefully separated from their families in Russia and [mußten their [Unterhaltsbeitrag of [monatlich seven Rubel fifty Kopeken per soul through a [Nebenerwerb vergrößern], so that wife and [unmündige children at home not starve. Their [mündigen sons were in the war [gezogen. These Jews told me much about their suffering. [Anfänglich I could myself make sense of their [litwakisch-deutsch-jüdischen Jargon]. But the always [wiederkehrenden refrain I soon understood: “For us [Ostjuden it is not a world war, rather a world pogrom.” [Dennoch the time soon came in which the Jews sent to Siberia by their [Stammesgenossen in Poland, Lithuania, and in the by the Russians still occupied eastern Galicia as [glücklich Entronnene beneidet wurden]. It was at the time when the [zurückweichenden hordes of Cossacks the Jews to many thousands [vor sich hertrieben] and hundreds upon hundreds of whom died along the ***[157]*** in the [Straßengräben rotted, the [Aasvögeln zur Speise].

My [Hausleute auf Kamtschatka] were to me [zugetan. The mother [führte me once into the [Erdgeschoß, where she to me on a [Ehrenplatz along the wall a framed letter showed. It was one [?] directed to her [Heiratsantrag of a Russian [Verbannten, who soon afterward drowned in the Ob. “This death,” [hinzufügte the mother

[geheimnisvoll, “was not [zufälliger, for/since my daughter had the [Antrag declined.”

One time she was visited by a brother who was ill, who throughout the night [stöhnte and coughed, which disrupted my sleep. One morning — I was still in bed — the [Wirtin entered my room and asked me to look after her sick brother, since I am after all a doctor. I tried to explain to her that I was a Doctor of Law and understood nothing about medicine. It did not matter. “Doctor is doctor,” [meinte my Wirtin. I got dressed and went downstairs. There lay her poor brother and neither [seufzte nor [stöhnte any more. He had [ausgerungen. “What did I tell you,” called the [Gatte in a [schreiendem Tone]. “Now well just have to bury him,” ***[158]*** [hinzufügte the [Hausherr. Death does not [ruft any particular [?] emotions for these [Nature Menschen]. Before he was laid to rest, the deceased was still photographed. While alive the farmers of Narymski Kraj do not have their photograph taken. [Wohl however it means the highest honor to the corpse, [sie im Bildnis festzuhalten]. All of the family members gather around the coffin and [lassen sich mitphotographieren. The art of photography had a farmer in Narym learned from a [Verbannten. I had to myself with this corpse [mit aufnehmen lassen]. Since, however, my [Hausleute me on a [erhöhten Ehrensitz zwängten], only my [Filzstiefel] can be seen on this photograph. My [Wirtin consoled me with the words: “Sie sind zwar not herausgekommen, aber the boots are [to the Sprechen ähnlich.” The following morning the man was buried. At the cemetery at the edge of the forest was a fairly [seichte Vertiefung] into the ice [geschlagen, and without any [kirchliche ceremony the [rohgezimmerten = roughly hewn] coffin with the corpse was lowered into the ground. The [Hausherr explained to me the [weiteren Vorgang folgendermaßen]: “the ice thaws in the summer, the coffin then sinks deeper down, and soon thereafter the mud will cover it…” ***[159]***

Ich wurde leidend. My stomach did not want to [fügen and kündigte the schlechten Koft den lohnvertrag. It was a nasty [Sache, I [umsah myself after a [Mittagstisch. In Lugowskoje, which is just four Werst away from Narym, was a female teacher from Bukowina [interniert. [Bei ihr bestellte I along with two other companions [Mittagessen, and for this reason we also took up residence in Lugowskoje. The April — [alten Stils — had in the meantime come, and a Siberian [Frühlingsahnen [zog durch den] Narymski Kraj. Anfangs konnte I mich noch in den Urwald, which begins close to Lugowskoje and nach der Meinung of the Einheimischen sich about three hundred Werst lang erstreckt, tief hineinwagen. The hard-frozen snow still did not break under my steps. However, already a week later I sank up to my [Achseln. With [schwerer Mühe I worked myself out and understandably gave up taking walks. [Noch barst the ice not,

however if I over the [Bach schritt, which from Lugowskoje to Narym [fließt, I already clearly heard the the gurgling sounds, which the water below the ice cover [wühlende erzeugte]. Dann waren we fünf Wochen lang von jeglichem Verkehre abgeschnitten. Briefe ***[160]*** and Zeitungen blieben aus, denn the Post konnte aus Tomsk not mehr befördert werden. In den ersten Maitagen, alten Stils, begannen the Bauern ihre buckligen Kühlein and öchslein, die not größer sind als gutgewachsene Hunde, über schwimmende Eisschollen in den Wald to treiben, damit sie in den aus dem schmelzenden Schnee hervorlugenden Gräsern ihre Nahrung suchen. Die großen Kähne and the kleinen „Oblasoks" — aus Baumrinde hergestellte kleine Wasserfahrzeuge — wurden geteert and bereitgestellt.

In den ersten Maitagen unternahm I meine erste Kahnfahrt nach Narym, wobei mir allerdings my Hauswirt in der Weise behilflich war, that er an Stellen, wo the mächtigen Eisschollen den Wasserweg verstauen, aus dem Kahn hinaus aufs Eis sprang and ihn eine halbe Werst lang hinter sich Herzog, bis der Wasserweg the Weiterfahrt ermöglichte.

Vom Altai herunter wälzten sich the geschmolzenen Schneemassen in the Siberian Tiefebene hinein, rissen Eis and Schnee, die am Wege lagen, auf and erzeugten ungeheure Wassermassen, die Bäume and Sträucher, aber auch Häuser and Kirchen beinahe ganz verschlangen... ***[161]***

Am 20. Mai, neuen Stils, weckte mich ein schriller, langgedehnter Pfiff um four Uhr morgens aus dem Schlaf. The erste Dampfer war aus Tomsk gekommen and schaukelte, etwa hundert Schritte vor my Fenster, nach Narym hin. ***[162]***

Der Siberian Sommer

That I the Siberian cold gut vertrug, I already wrote about in my previous accounts, wenn I however [an the Siberian summer with its [vierziggradigen heat think back, [fröstelt it me to this day. Already the [Vorfrühling — the Siberian Vorfrühling kennt keine Schneeglöckchen, keine Leberblümchen and no Krokus — brachte verheerende Wirkungen in [?] my sonst the Heiteren zugewandten Gemütszustand hervor. Fromthe sky burned a sun [herab, whose rays like [vergiftete Pfeile wirkten, and out of the Siberian soil [begannen qualmige, von schweren Sumpfend Düngergerüchen geschwängerte Dünste and fog aufzusteigen, that a like with thousand [Fangarmen umfassen and vorerst against everything, [was in the homeland begehrenswert erscheint, gleichgültig machen. Still I held myself [aufrecht. With my [Willensstärke more than with the physical [Kräften, which already on the [Etappe and during of the winter [auf eine harte Probe gestellt waren, which however [to versagen begannen, when the marsh all around me [immer dichter wurde and

in a [undefinierbaren Aggregat ***[163]*** zustande auch the air, which in the winter was clear, [rein. and dry, [erfüllte.

Es war eine entsetzliche Zeit, in welcher selbst my Optimismus zeitweilig ins Wanken to geraten schien. Aber I hielt noch durch. I suchte erhöhte Stellen im Urwald auf and fuhr mit dem Kahn Böschungen an, die hoch oben von der Wasserflut verschont geblieben waren. I wollte Fauna and Flora studieren. Das Wiedererwachen der in Schnee and Eis erstarrten Natur geht dort verblüffend rasch vor sich, über Nacht sprießen the bizarren Sumpft gräser hervor, über Nacht kommen the wenigen Wald- and Wiesenblumen in Blüte. I sah der Form nach richtige Veilchen, die aber Totenblässe im Antlitz trugen and not dufteten, Schlüsselblümchen and Löwenzahn blühen and verblühen in wenigen Tagen, and das Vergißmeinnicht öffnete kaum seine trauten Äuglein, als sie auch schon der Nebel — or war es der rauhe Nachtreif? — gewaltsam wieder schloß. Im Urwald tummelten sich hoch in den Bäumen the Eichkätzchen, die ihren weißen Winterpelz urplötzlich gegen ein rotbraunes Sommergewand eingetauscht hatten; Star and Drossel ließen from time to time ihre Rufe ertönen, and über the in Massen umherliegenden, halbver- ***[164]*** moderten Baumstämme, die der Sturm gefällt or the hereinstürzende große Wasserflut to Boden geworfen hatte, huschten the Waldeidechsen. Sie sahen mich mit ihren klugen Äuglein ganz erstaunt an, als wollten sie mich fragen: „Armes europäisches Menschenkind, welcher menschliche Unglücksgott hat dich hieher gebracht?“ Vom großen Krieg schienen the sonst so klugen Tierchen nichts to wissen...

Als I wieder einmal in the woods was, tief drinnen, and the sonderbaren Flechten and Moose anstaunte, die weite Flächen bedeckten, kam mir ein Einheimischer entgegen. Despite the high heat he still wore his [Pelzmütze and his [Filzstiefel and expressed his surprise [darüber, that I in this wilderness had penetrated/entered.

“What are you doing here, then?” I asked the man.

“I have [Fallen set up, small ones for the [Wildenten, which often the large [Sumpfteiche in the woods [aufsuchen, larger ones for the [Eichhörnchen and Füchse and big ones for wolves and bears. In the summer we only seldom come into the woods. In winter [fällen we our entire [Holzbedarf, however in summer is the [Aufenthalt in the woods very unhealthy.” Then he [führte me to a [freien Platz. There lay ***[165]*** [mächtige Kiefern], which in the last days of winter had been [gefällt. “Have a look at these [Stämme; they are all [kernfaul, thus will we also become in this [Sumpfwald, out of which [the Moderlust keinen richtigen Ausgang finds, [innerlich angefault...“

It was not the warning of a man from the [Siberian people alone [?], who me soon [zwang, my [Forschungsausflüge into the woods to give up: the [Mückenplage brach soon herein.

Wer sie miterlebt hat, weiß, was sie bedeutet. First it was tiny

little [Mücklein, [Eintagsfliegen, which in Myriadenschwärmen filled the air and despite the [dichten Kapuzenschleier, that we pulled over our heads, through all of the [Poren of the clothing [eindrangen and sich in the skin [einbohrten, where they soon died, where they however [sich [Grabhügel in the form of reddish [Pünktchen errichteten], which soon the entire body [übersäten. Woe to them, who wanted to alleviate the itch by scratching! Then came the [Gelsenplage. The [langstieligen insects could naturally not the way to my [verunzierten body find as the little bugs did, however with a [Schlauheit, which I them [gar not zugetraut hätte, they knew how to find every [Blöße, and before one [sich's versah, had one ten painful ***[166]*** [Schwellungen on his head and in the hands [wegbekommen [?]. The [Gelsen were from the mosquitoes and these by the [Taranteln abgelöst], in [schöner Reihenfolge, fein] according to the Siberian [Naturgesetzen geordnet]. I too was once by such [Tarantel heimgesucht]. Two ladies, die mit mir am Waldesrande standen, schlugen sie on my right Wange dead, but their poison/venom had the spider to me already [eingespritzt. The bite [erzeugte a pain that brought me close to becoming crazy, and when two days later I was by the ladies [geneckt, because I had had screamed [gar so entsetzlich], suchte I my arg gefährdeten Heldenruf through a literarisch-wissenschaftlichen Vortrag wiederherzustellen.

Also a trip I had to undertake at about this time. I was namely with [stillschweigender Duldung of the police in Lugowskoje geblieben. Since, however, with one of the first steamers also a [Revisor kommen sollte], I had to at first return to Parabel. The Pristaw said [nämlich to me: "You are the [berühmteste Sylnij, and the [Revisor will immediately ask about you." [Obwohl sich all Fischerdörfer in Narymski Kraj gleichen and a gleichen Grad von Strafe darstellen, gibt es begehrte ***[167]*** and minderbegehrte Aufenthaltsorte, that one through [Protektion or anders zugewiesen erhält. I therefore rode/drove back to Parabel zurück. In a nighttime journey we covered the way back toward the small steamer. I did not sleep a wink [?]. A German pastor from [Tiflis, who rode with me, spoke without interruption to me [ein and sought [mich davon to überzeugen, that the [Entente siegen müsse. He was one of those pessimists, who one cannot can anything [beweisen. Hopefully the events that have occurred in the meantime have [eines besseren belehrt. From the [Schiffsküche I also received after a long, long time again a European [Essen geliefert. The Herr Offiziant — this pompous title [führt der Kellner — handed me [mind you] a bill for six [Rubels = fifteen Kronen.

We reached Parabel at about six o'clock in the morning. Since I did not have a room, [einkehrte I [vorläufig with my countrymen. One or two times per week came a steamer, which brought new [Verbannte, between one and two hundred in number. The landing

site lay [knapp to the village itself, [denn the lake, which [sich by Parabel [ausdehnt, was large and deep in early summer, a true lake. In July it shrank ever more and in August it became, like all of the lakes and [Bäche in Narymski Kraj, an ***[168]*** odorous little marsh, and the steamer [hielten four [Werst distant from Parabel on the banks of the Ob, which despite [Versandung immer noch befahrbar war], [wenn ortskundige Lotsen auf ihren Kähnen vorausfuhren].

From a small [Anhöhe aus I observed the newly-arrived [Verbannten when they were [ausgeladen. What a sight that was! Here [ausstieg a man, who wore a [Salonrock of [tadellosem englischen Schnitt]; he led a [Gattin by the arm, who a [Pariser Hut, Modell 1914 — 1915 war noch unterwegs or had been by a German U-Boot somewhere sunk — [auf dem Kopfe trug. Behind them [drängte a group of [Muselmanen from the vicinity of the [Wansees or from the [Turkestanischen nach. Perhaps they were Kurds, who had been somewhere [aufgegriffen, I do not know exactly. Their colorful clothing and their [malerischen Turbane] were by the [Etappenfahrt likewise [mitgenommen like their Träger themselves. But already on the following day I saw the same men in the village [stolzieren and almost did not recognize them, for they had washed themselves and the [Glanz newly [hergerichtet and now looked the Nazoratil in the face with [stolzer Verachtung]. The [entsetzlichsten ***[169]*** image offered the poor Jews, who from the lower [Schiffsräumen, where they had been [eingeladen] in Tomsk as [“Frachtgut” herauskamen]. They [hervorstiegen as though out of a grave, [begannen sich gegenseitig to suchen and stellten gewöhnlich fest, that [soundso many, in Prozenten ausgedrückt, about twenty, were [abgängig. These had died along the way. — Died? They had been beaten to death or starved [along the way]. Also many women and children were among them. One [erlasse to me their [nähere Beschreibung. [Wozu denn auch]? The Typhus and the Ruhr, which soon afterwards raged in Narymski Kraj, [haben the [weitere to this simple, [wenn auch einzig dastehenden Lösung] of the Jewish question in Russia [beigetragen. Only a [einzigen case [lasse man me to relate. I must tell it, for it [abdrückt to me the soul/spirit, everytime that I think about it. I lay sick in bed. It was already August, and I [befand myself at the time on the bank of the Ob. [Da trat] a young Jewish student from Bukowina in my room and said: “Herr Doctor, we [benötigen still ten Rubel, the other ten Rubel have we by a [Sammlung already [aufgebracht, in order a poor Jew from Galicia, who died from typhus ***[170]*** according to Jewish [Ritus with the [entsprechenden Totengewändern] to [versehen.” I [wies with a [stummen Gebärde] to/at my [neben mir liegende Brieftasche, the student [entnahm ihr] the ten Rubel note and quickly withdrew/left, so that the deceased “his right” [geschehe. I had forgotten about it because so many were dying one after the other. Four weeks later, however, when it was learned that I had been

exchanged and was going to journey home, one morning there was a knock at my door, and [auf my “Poschalesta” two young people entered. A [Bursche of about twenty years and a girl aged about fifteen. They spoke to me in German. The [Bursche was the first to speak and said: “Herr Doctor [haben for the [Totengewänder of our [seligen father ten Rubel [vorgestreckt, and since we heard, that you are [traveling] home, we have [Ihnen from the fifteen Rubel, which both of us together for the one month [Lebensunterhalt ausgezahlt wurden], the ten [Rubel zurückgebracht].” I [selbstverständlich declined, but no [Widerstand helped. The girl, still only [halbes Kind, said to me [unter Schluchzen and Weinen: “You must [das Geld annehmen, for we would not be able to [keine Nacht ruhig schlafen, if we knew, that our ***[171]*** father in fremden Totengewändern im Grabe ruht. Wenn Sie us einen Dienst erweisen wollen, write to our mother (she gave the address), that all of us, father and the two children, [die man to Siberia had [verschleppt, are in good health.” I [annahm the money, and it [geschah to the zweitenmal during my eight-month [Aufenthaltes in Siberia, that to me the tears streamed from from my eyes, without interruption, and in [wahren Sturzbächen.

In Parabel and in the to the Parabeller “Wolost” belongin small village communities [wimmelte it soon with old and new [Bekannten. There were Austrians from the [großen Zirardower Textilfabrik], mostly [Deutsch-Böhmen, Rumburger, and Reichenberger], then German [Beamte of the Nobel-Gesellschaft in the Caucasus, Jewish [Kaufleute from all of the cities of eastern and central Galicia, the former Ruthenian [Reichsratsabgeordnete Dr. Koß from Kalusch in Galizien, and many, many others, altogether about five hundred men.

Two weeks was I already in Parabel, when the Pristaw from the south on the steamer [heraufkam and [mich rufen ließ]. “You are going to Lugowskoje,” he said to me, “the Isprawnik had it on my [Fürsprache hin gestattet].” ***[172]*** When I the ship [betrat, I again [vorfand many Austrians in the [Schiffsinnern, among them three [Advokaten from Stanislau, who me [aufs herzlichste begrüßten] and broke the [betrübende news to me, that my four Czernowitzer [Schicksalsgenossen in Kiev, where they had been allowed to move about freely for a month, were suddenly arrested again and [erst auf Intervention of a few [Kiewer Notabeln] in private hospitals, which are under police guard, had been [untergebracht. The return to Siberia was for them a certainty, [doch will this time the at least the [Etappe erspart bleiben]. At the same time my new companions informaed me about the [Allerneueste: Italy had declared war against Austria-Hungary. [I vergaß im Augenblick alles, was mir and my Genossen widerfahren war, and fühlte, that mir das Blut heiß in den Kopf Hinaufstieg. I ballte the Fäuste and had einen bösen Fluch auf den Lippen, dann hielt I suddenly inne and spie mit einem kräftigen „Pfui Teufel“ in weitem Bogen aus. Dann setzte I mich to Tisch,

bestellte einen Tee and erörterte mit my Tischgenossen the Folgen der neuen Kriegserklärung. I wußte der Sache the beste Seite abzugewinnen, blieb aber mit my Anschauung vereinzelt. I ***[173]*** sprach laut and kümmerte mich not darum, that mehrere Russen, unter ihnen auch Polizeibeamte, um us herumstanden. Einer der Neuangekommenen said mir: „Herr Kollege, I habe schon in Kiew von Ihnen gehört, Sie sind in Ihren Äußerungen gegenüber Russian Beamten unbedacht, es könnte Ihnen einmal arg mitgespielt werden." I wollte gerade eine derbe Antwort erteilen, als der Pristaw in den Saal trat and mir zurief: „Wissen Sie's schon, Herr Doktor, Italien hat euch den Krieg erklärt!" I wandte mich in Dreiviertelprofil um and said laut: „Ich weiß es schon, aber lassen Sie sich sagen: Italien wird in diesem Kriege das gleiche Ende erleben wie Ihr Rußland."

Meine Tischgenossen waren aufs höchste erschreckt, aber der Pristaw lächelte bloß verlegen and entfernte sich. Zu seiner and zur Ehre vieler anderer Russen sei's aber auch an dieser Stelle erwähnt: Fast alle Russen, vor denen I zufällig Italien erwähnte, sprachen only mit Verachtung von diesem Lande and seinem beispiellosen Treubruch, der den Krieg only verlängert habe, ohne Russia den Sieg bringen to können. „Leierkästler" and „Bettelmusikanten" nennen seit jenen Tagen the Russen ihre italienischen Bundesgenossen... ***[174]***

So war I also in Lugowskoje. Vom Himmel herab brannte eine tropische Sonne, and immer wieder fragte man sich erstaunt, wie diese heiße Dame in den hohen Norden gelangen konnte. Einer der Verbannten machte the scherzhafte Bemerkung, sie sei probably von der Russian Polizei als politisch verdächtig nach Siberia verschleppt worden. and wie ausdauernd sie war! Im Juni and Juli stand sie einundzwanzig bis zweiundzwanzig hours of the Tages am Horizont. Die weißen Nächte hielten ihren Einzug in den Narymski Kraj. Nur wer diese Nächte miterlebt hat, weiß the wohltuende Wirkung einer richtigen schwarzen Nacht to schätzen. Von den dreißig Verbannten in Lugowskoje wurden zehn unter dem Eindruck der weißen Nächte trübsinnig. Unter ihnen trugen two ernste Geistesstörungen davon. Sie kleideten sich of the Tages aus and liefen splitternackt durch das Dorf, indem sie um the Wette schrien: „Jetzt is Nacht, Nacht, Nacht!" Die beiden Nazoratils in Lugowskoje fingen the Armen ein, fesselten sie and transportierten sie nach Narym, wo sie zufolge Entscheidung der hohen Polizei außerhalb of the Ortes in einer Jurte untergebracht wurden. „Dort dürfen sie nackt herumlaufen...." Ein anderer lief in den Wald and legte sich dort ***[175]*** schlafen. Achtundvierzig hours hintereinander schlief er. Als man ihn auffand, war er von Mücken, Waldameisen and Taranteln furchtbar zerfressen. It was a poor [Lette, who soon afterwards [auf dem kleinen Friedhof of the Verbannten von seinem Siberian Erdenwallen im ewigen Schlaf ausruhen durfte.

Wir anderen saßen von acht Uhr abends bis gegen Mitternacht auf den vom Wasser ans Land geschwemmten großen Baumstämmen

and suchten us to zerstreuen. We bewunderten, die Keime der Ruhr and of the Typhus schon in us tragend, das gewaltige Farbenspiel der untergehenden and gleich wieder aufgehenden Sonne, angesichts deren man den Eindruck hatte, that es two Sonnen gäbe, besprachen the damals sich überstürzenden Kriegsereignisse an der Russian Front and suchten to ergründen, wann das Kriegsende kommen werde. Dann suchte jeder irgendein Versteck auf, wo er ein Paar hours schlafen zube able hoffte. In den Zimmern war es unmöglich. Die drückende, unerträgliche Schwüle, das fahle weiße Licht, das durch alle Spalten and Ritzen eindrang and the Augenlider wie mit einer ätzenden Säure traf, dazu the Mückenschwärme, ließen keinen Schlaf zu. We verkrochen us in Kellerräume, ***[176]*** auf Dachböden and in Stallungen, um for two bis three hours the Augen schließen to können. Einbis zweimal in der Woche ruderten we nach Narym hinaus, um Einkäufe to besorgen or nach Post to fragen. Die Narymer Strafkolonie had sich inzwischen beträchtlich vergrößert. Neben zahlreichen Taschendieben and Hochstaplern waren auch neue „Politische“ angekommen, unter ihnen wieder viele Letten, Studenten and Studentinnen, Arbeiter and Arbeiterinnen. Diese Letten waren immer in dichten Schwärmen to sehen, sie hielten fest zueinander, als wollten sie auch in Siberia zeigen, that sie weder im Russentum noch im Deutschtum aufgehen wollen. Nur ein finnischer Redakteur, der im summer immer barfuß herumlief, um bequemer durch the Sümpfe waten to können, verkehrte mit in der lettischen Gesellschaft. The ukrainische Journalist Semeschko, who already for the third or fourth time to Narym verschickt war, schrieb weiter seine Beschwerden an the Russian Obrigkeit and sprach mit mir ausschließlich im kleinrussischen Idiom. „Ich bin ein Kosakenstämmling and will von den Kazapen nichts wissen,“ said er mir. Griechisch-katholische Pfarrer aus Galizien and polnische Sozialdemokraten aus Warschau suchten mich um diese Zeit oft auf. ***[177]***

Inzwischen war das Leben in Lugowskoje ganz unerträglich geworden. Das Wasser versumpfte immer mehr, and selbst dreimaliges Durchkochen benahm ihm not den Sumpf- and Düngergeruch. Aber auch the Fische, das Fleisch and das Brot, the Butter and the Milch rochen nach Sumpf and erzeugten Brechreiz. We wurden immer matter and elender, and als the Ruhr- and Typhusfälle the ersten letalen Erfolge aufwiesen, übersiedelte I mit mehreren anderen Lugowskojern to the „Pristan“, der Schiffshaltestelle am Zusammenfluß of the Ket and Ob, two Werst hinter Narym. Dort hofften we besser leben to können.

In der ersten Zeit schien es auch, als ob der neue Aufenthalt eine Besserung in unserem Befinden hervorgerufen hätte. We versuchten im Ob to baden. In Lugowskoje had we einen solchen Versuch mit einer bösen Mißhandlung durch Stechfliegen aller Art bezahlt, im Ob waren the Mückenschwärme kleiner. Aber schon nach

einer Woche mußten we das Baden aufgeben. Die großen Waldbrände begannen. In dicken Schwaden kam der Rauch aus den Urwäldern, vermischte sich mit dem Nebel, which rose out of the marsh, to a qualmigen and klebrigen Masse, die sich auf die ***[178]*** Schleimhäute legte and das Atmen geradezu unmöglich machte. Bei Tag sah man only einen matten Lichtschimmer, of the Nachts wagte sich niemand hinaus. not allein wegen der furchtbaren Finsternis, die wie zur Vervollständigung der zehn ägyptischen Plagen hereinbrach, sondern auch wegen der Bären, die aus den brennenden Wäldern ausgebrochen and bis nahe an the menschlichen Ansiedelungen geflohen waren. Entsetzlich war das Gebrüll of the Hornviehs, das im summer im Freien kampierte and in jenen Nächten, the Nähe der Raubtiere witternd, Todesangstschreie ausstieß. Viele Rinder wurden auch zerrissen... Obgleich the Zeit der Heumahd herangekommen war, fuhren the Bauern auf the zehn bis zwölf, vielfach auch zwanzig Werst entfernten, jenseits of the Ob gelegenen Sumpfwiesen vorläufig not hinaus. Diejenigen, die es versuchten, mußten rasch umkehren or sie irrten tagelang in den weiten Flußarmen umher, ehe sie wieder festen Boden finden konnten. Dann kam ein vehementer Windstoß aus dem Westen. Die Nebel- and Rauchwolken verzogen sich, and alle Einheimischen of the Narymski Kraj im Alter von über zehn Jahren zogen for mehrere Wochen zur Heuernte hinaus, soweit sie not vom Typhus and ***[179]*** der Ruhr, die immer mehr um sich griffen, erfaßt waren. Kranke Kinder im Alter von ein bis four Jahren wurden zur Heumahd mitgenommen. Zur Vorsicht lud man auch kleine Särge auf the Kähne, and draußen im Wiesensumpf bestattete man the armen Würmchen, die gewöhnlich den Transport not überlebten.

Um mich herum starben old and young, so that I gar not erstaunt war, als sich the rote Ruhr and das typhöse marsh fever in den letzten Julitagen auch bei mir einstellten. Wie mir the jüdische Ärztin, die gerade um diese Zeit nach Narym gekommen war — sie had sich den freiwilligen Samariterdienst mit schwerer Mühe bei den Russian Behörden erbettelt, weil Juden and Jüdinnen der freiwillige Aufenthalt in Siberia not gestattet is — wie mir also the Ärztin said, stand es um mich recht schlimm. Since I however not the Absicht habe, a Jeremiade to write, unterlasse I the Schilderung my Krankheitstage. Nur eines: When I nach dreieinhalbwöchiger Krankheit the bed verlassen durfte and mich wieder mühsam nach Narym schleppte, erkannten mich the besten Freunde not wieder... ***[180]***

Auf dem Wege nach Hause

On the morning of the 26 August 1915 the sun was again shining over Narym. A [neuerlicher Windstoß, which had come out of the east, had it [zuwege gebracht. I was still quite [matt and weak, and the

illnesses, that I had [überstanden, were to me still [deutlich genug] on my face [abzulesen]. But the long [entbehrte sun [lockte me outdoors. I [aufsetzte] myself, not far away from my [Wohnung, close to the bank of the [träge dahinfließenden] Ob a [umgestürzten Baumstamm and soaked in the sun. Suddenly my friend Prazak was standing before me. It was as if he had out of the [Erdboden hervorgeschossen. My friend Prazak had been by the Kiev police as "besonders gefährlich" sent off to Narymski Kraj, for he was a [Tscheche, who had himself [geweigert, at the outbreak of the war the Russian [Untertanschaft anzunehmen]. How the [Aufnahme of the [Tschechen in the Russian [Staatsverband vor sich gegangen war, and what experiences the new Russians [ehemals tschechischer Zungen dabei machten], das to schildern [vorbehalte I myself for a different [Gelegenheit]. I ***[181]*** [erachte the proper [Zeitpunkt noch not for gekommen. My friend Prazak, who was originally from the vicinity of Brünn [?] and in Kiev as [Werkführer in a factory for [landwirtschaftliche machineryhad found a good position, until it the Russian police [gefiel, him with the snow-fields and marshes of Siberia to make familiar, spoke on that morning also not about his [tschechischen brothers, rather about my illness, whose [Verlauf to him had had [ernstliche Sorge eingeflößt, and from the [großen Hechten], which he in the [Ketmündung gefangen habe], and which even bigger had been than those that I before the onset of my illness had [erangelt], which, however, due to its [Modergeruches likewise [ungenießbar seien] like that of mine. He spoke also of the latest developments in the war, for [tags zuvor] had a steamer brought new newspapers from Tomsk. Then was the [Rede] about Maltschanowa. At that time went namely the [Gerücht] around, the Russian government wanted to settle all [verschleppten] foreigners into the Maltschanow county/district, which closer toward Tomsk to [liege] and under the [Ruhr- and [Typhus-Epidemie not [so leide] like the Narymski Kraj. The rumor later proved to be false, for just the Austrians ***[182]*** and Germans remained in Narymski Kraj, while a larger part of the Russian [Verbannten] to Maltschanowa and the surrounding villages were [übergeführt]. [Dem Delegierten] of the American [Botschaft] in Petersburg, who at about that time in a [Salonwagen] at the Tomsk train station overnighted, had the Russian government [Mitteilen lassen], that [sich] the Austrians and Germans in Narymski Kraj [wohlbefänden], whereupon the Herr [Delegierte]resumed his journey to Krasnojarsk and Irkutsk, satisfied by the result of his inspection.

While Prazak [auf mich einböhmelte], saw I the Nazoratil of the "Pristan", my Herrn Vorgesetzten, quer across the [Kamtschatkaer Sumpfwiese approaching. Soon he was standing before us, [grüßte höflich], asked for a cigarette, and said not with [Mitgefühl:

„Oh, you look very bad. You need a change of [Luft. [Herr

Pristaw has ordered, that you should immediately go to him. Perhaps he's sending you to Maltschanowa."

I got myself up, supported/helped to my friend Prazak, [zurücklegte I in a half hour the one and a half Werst long way to the bank of the Ket. Also Nazoratil was with us ***[183]*** went along. With his powerful voice he yelled over to the other/opposite bank, the small [Fährmann], who [gegen Entgelt] the traffic between Narym and Kamtschatka [vermittelte], [möge] immediately come across. The wind had [sich] in the meantime [gelegt], dense fog and smoke clouds again lay over the river, but the [regelmäßigen Ruderschläge], which soon were to be heard, announced the arrival of the young "Captain" — as we all named the twelve year old [aufgeweckten] Siberian. We got on/in and a quarter-hour later were in Narym, where I went [ium] "Regierungspalais", a one-story wood blockhouse, which not far from the bank [erhebt].

In the [Vorzimmer] stood [Kopf an Kopf] [gedrängt Verbannte]: Jews from Stanislau, Mosciska, Cambor, and other places in Galicia. They were from Cigara, a [abscheulichen] village on the Ob, came to Narym, in order by the Pristaw [before sich] and many other companions, who only [deshalb] to Siberia [verschleppt] had been, because they "too healthy" seemed/appeared and in the Austro-Hungarian Army [eingereiht werden könnten], in order to request the [Überführung] to Maltschanowa. About three hundred of such young men at that time [counted one] in Cigara ***[184]*** and vicinity. After waiting for half an hour a Starschy appeared and [teilte mit, the Pristaw today would not [empfange], only I was allowed to remain. The others went away and I went into the Pristaw's room. He asked me to sit down. The [Beamten, who were seated at several tables, [tuschelten geheimnisvoll untereinander]. The thought suddenly occurred to me that I had fallen victim to a [Denunziation and to Lurchansk or even farther away would be sent. The Pristaw remained silent and leafed through his files. Suddenly he asked me the question: "When will you finally apply for Russian citizenship?" "Never," I replied calmly. Then [erhob sich] the Herr Pristaw, as if he wanted to pass some sort of judgement on me, and again asked me very [unvermittelt: "Would you give something to the Russian Red Cross, if I to you a very important [Mitteilung machen sollt]e?" I looked at him for a moment [verdutzt and then said: "Wenn der Betrag dem Red Cross zugute kommt, I am prepared to contribute fifty Rubel." I [griff zur Brieftasche and placed the [Betrag on the table. The Pristaw took a piece of paper in hand and began to read out loud. He [vorlass] to me ***[185]*** for a long time. [Aus dem in gewundenem] Russian [Amtsstil abgefaßten Erlasse] from the Governor of Tomsk [entnahm I, that I as a result of a [Übereinkommens between the Austro-Hungarian and the Russian governments have been exchanged for a Russian, and that the Pristaw

[aufgefordert werde, me [unverzüglich to Tomsk to [überstellen, where I a [Passierschein to "Petrograd" shall receive. In Petrograd [würde the [Gradonatschalnik, by whom I was to report, [das weitere veranlassen], in order myself via Finland to the Swedish border to be taken [?].

Totenblässe überzog my face. I spürte es deutlich. Then [anstarrte I the Pristaw and his [Gehilfen as though geistesabwesend. I reached for my hat and wanted [hinausstürzen, however remained in the middle of the room [wieder stehen, turned around and said to the Pristaw:

"Do you now see how my Fatherland for his loyal sons [sorgt and [sich ihrer annimmt], even when they thousands of [Werst away [verschleppt worden sind]?"

Everyone [umringten me and heartfelt [beglückwünschten. The Pristaw said [sodann:

"You must be very important in Austria, if they have freed you. You are the first civilian prisoner, who from Narymski Kraj ***[186]*** [heimbefördert. About your Czernowitz friends, who had arrived again in Kalpaschewo a few weeks ago [?], have I have still not received the same [Erlaß."

We [sprachen noch mancherlei, then [verabschiedete I myself. The Pristaw [empfahl me, my to immediately pack my things, for the last steamer, which to the north [gegangen sei, could return at any time and with this steamer would I also my journey home commence.

The Pristaw [anstellte to the conclusion still me a [Gewissensfrage: Whether I myself over/about the treatment, that to me [zuteil geworden, to [beklagen hätte].

I said told him freely:

"You, Herr Pristaw, have [ja nichts dazu getan], that one me per [Etappe in [Arrestantenwaggons and through [soundso many prisons with all of the Schwerverbrechern and hoboes to here in this [entsetzliche region had [verschleppt. You yourself [scheinen to me to be a humane [fühlender person. If I [Ihnen a compliment may make, so [gestatten you, that I [Ihnen say, that you could also be an Austrian [Beamter. I ask of you to the [Schlüsse, my [bisherigen Schicksalsgenossen, ***[187]*** in particular the Austrians and Germans, as far as it is in your power, [entgegenzukommen and them not unnecessary [Quälereien auszusetzen].... [An the Märchen of the [schlechten Behandlung Russian citizens in Austria and Germany [glauben Sie ja] as an intelligent man hopefully yourself not."

The Pristaw [tat von Amts wegen so, as if he indeed would believe [daran, [verabschiedete himself however in [herzllchster manner from me. My papers würde er mir selbst aufs Schiff bringen.

I stepped out onto the street. It was [ganz gegen twelve o'clock noon, and almost the entire [Narymer Verbannten-Kolonie, reinforced through the [Ankömmlinge from Cigara, stood on the [Platze before

the church. The news of my release had already spread, and I was with [kräftigen Hochs and Hurras received. War das eine Aufregung! Dergleichen had one on Narymski Kraj still not experienced. One [wußte of people to erzählen, who had in [Friedenzietten “ausgerückt” and at Brody in Galicia [glücklich the Austrian border had reached, one [kannte naturally also [solche Verbannte, Russians, whose period of Verbannungs had [abgelaufen and were allowed to return home, ***[188]*** [selbstverständlich only for a short time, since the Russian police [sorgte already [dafür, that they by the next opportunity again [auf frische Luft to Siberia geschickt wurden], however one, who from Vienna [aus reklamiert wurde, besaß the Seltenheitswert of a [Unikats. I was also [dementsprechend angestaunt].

I had to wait three days for the steamer. Fog and smoke, which again the [unumschränkte Herrschaft] over all of the lower Luftschichten of the Narymski Kraj had [erlangt, delayed the ship somewhere. During these three days I did not close/lock the door to my room. [Einer reichte dem anderen the primitive Klinke]. One wanted [sich verabschieden. The foreigner and those Russians, who who [aus the [inzwischen by the Central Powers occupied territories originated — there were not few —, wanted for their family members, from whom [jede Nachricht fehlte], send greeting. A few short days earlier had new [Verbannte come, among them the Petersburg female correspondent for a Berlin newspaper. This lady told me he experiences since the outbreak of war. She did it in such [packender Art, that to me today still after more than half a year every detail I can still remember. I [würde myself ***[189]*** even trust, that what the unfortunate lady had experienced had with her own words [wieder zugeben, but I feel myself [hierzu aus mancherlei Gründen not justified. First and foremost: She is herself a journalist, and that what she had to me told formed [gewissermaßen also her [geistiges Eigentum]. Hopefully she overcomes the time in Narym [well] and can sometime herself put to paper what she had seen and experienced in the bloodiest days in world history.

It was a Saturday when the small steamer, which had a quantity of large and small [Kähnen im Schlepptau], returned from the north, in order after several hours [Aufenthalte in Narym the [Bergfahrt to Tomsk to resume.

The bank was densely packed. Not me alone [galt the [Massenandrang. With this steamer were also about two hundred [Verbannte, betten, Poles, Russians, Baptists, and “minder gefährliche” Jews, transported away to Maltschanowa. Those left behind gave them an escort. The Germans and Austrians had themselves [vollzählig eingefunden], from me [Abschied to nehmen]. The [Sache ging ihnen näher, when one by the [immerhin kurz to nennenden] time of our time together [annehmen ***[190]*** durfte]. No sign of envy. And look! I was [ja on the way home, to my loved ones, to

freedom, which I had a year long [entbehrt], — but the pain of separation [schnürte me the Kehle zusammen] and I stood there, surrounded by good people, and could not utter one word...

[Unvermittelt and like an inspiration [folgend said a Pole from Germany, a [Gnesener: "[Mir ahnt nichts Gutes. [Sie kennen Russia noch immer nicht]. One will you under a [beliebigen Vorwand] throw into jail and after six months send back to Siberia."

A [unwilliges Murmeln] went through the [Gesellschaft, and a gentleman [rief dazwischen]: "Don't talk such nonsense, the Herr Doctor is now under the protection of the American [Botschafters, who had the exchange [vermittelt."

The Pole, who spoke with the [korrekteste] Berlin dialect, [ließ not locker]. One would see who will be right.[?]

"And the [Schose with the American [Botschafter is [erzfaul."

It was not fear, also not [Zorn, that I felt by these words in me [aufsteigen, ***[191]*** but I was [mächtig erregt], and since I [jeglicher Schaustellung von Rührung] to [allen Zeiten abhold war], [losriß I myself. I hugged and was hugged, was kissed and kissed, quickly and "without [Ansehung der Person]". The [Glockensignal] sounded. A [Schiffsbediensteter made me aware that the steamer was ready to depart. I ran across the [Verbindungssteg and from there quickly on the small [Schiffsbrücke. I automatically pulled my [Taschentuch, [lüftete also my hat, but I saw nothing. I [weinte doch nicht? No, said I aloud to myself, the fog and the smoke [verstellen bloß] the [Aussicht. [Wahr is, that already a few minutes later everything, [alles around me [her sank into the milks, [breiigen mix of fog and clouds of smoke. I went into the small [Kabine that I had rented and laid myself down on the [gepolsterte bench. In the [nach rückwärts verschränkten Arme] I put down my [dumpfen head and [sann, sann] and dreamed, dreamed and [sann, what do I know [?]. In the Siberian solitude were to me the [Selbstgespräche zur unausrottbaren Gewohnheit geworden]. This time [abschloß I with the words: "Never had I believed, that to me the [Abschied from Siberia would be so difficult...." I [prüfte my Seelen- ***[192]*** zustand and soon I knew, what it was. The feeling that now [beherrschte me, [entsprach ganz jenem, that me had [gezwungen, the arrival of the Russians in Czernowitz to [abwarten and not to run away therefrom. I had now, on the journey home from Siberia, the discovery, that I the poor [Schicksalsgenossen, who had to remain behind, was leaving in a bind/lurch.

It was a dreadfully long journey from Narym to Tomsk. Smoke and fog, which the ship [zwangen, at night at [irgendeiner island or at a deeper part of the river along the bank [anzuhalten, the heavy burden, which the only half [ausgenützte achtzigpferdige maschine had to [befördern, die Auf- and Ausladungen of people and [Frachtenmaterial, brachten es mit sich, that we needed almost a full week in order the five to six hundred kilometer long [Wasserfahrt to

Tomsk [zurückzulegen.

"Gegend" gave it naturally not on this [einförmigen Fahrt. Everywhere the same picture. The wide river with its numerous sandbanks and islands, its [niederen, actually never [festzustellenden banks and the [spärlichen vegetation on both sides offered also then no [Abwechslung, when we in Maltschanower ***[193]*** land came, where the sun the fog and the smoke had again victoriously broken through.

In the Maltschanower land are the people already [militärpflichtig. Soldiers came on deck, mostly Landsturm. On the bank cried and [jammerten women and children. The first [vernehmliche Schrei nach dem Frieden. The ship's captain, who happened to be standing next to me, was [verlegen. "Do not believe that the Russian people are [feig, but [bedenken Sie, that in this [spärlich populated land all men are already in the war." I [beruhigte him. "The yearning for peace is not cowardice," said I — "but [glauben Sie not that in this indeed [inartikulierten, but [deutlich enough [akzentuierten Lauten] the [Frage enthalten is: Wozu schleppt] one our providers into this [aussichtslosen war?..."

[Bei den Mahlzeiten am kleinen Speisetisch, which nach Russian Sitte stets schwere Leuchter and large Aufwartteller trug, was much politics [discussed]. Two Polish estate owners, a German Baptist preacherfrom Oranjenbaum by Petersburg, a German-Russian [Tuchfabrikant from Lodz, the captain of the ship and [meine Wenigkeit] formed the [Tischgesellschaft. I [erachtete es schon der Mühe wert], the content ***[194]*** of the discussions [wiederzugeben, which not only about war and peace, the main theme [jener Lage, drehten], rather also [auf gewisse Zustände and Vorgänge in Russian-Poland, in central Russia, and Siberia, [aber auch] about Petersburg and the Russian [Hof [er], [streckten, — I must however [davon absehen. The Baptist preacher — the Baptists mostly have [Laienprediger, and the in Germany or in America [herangebildeten Baptist theologians were in Russia also before the war, [ausbruch only tolerated in very small numbers — the Baptist preacher is in his civilian occupation [Zentralbuchhalter of the Herzogs of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, a close relative of the Tsar. He was [aus verständlichen Gründen am zurückhaltendsten].

We mainly talked about the possibility of a peace between Russia and the Central Powers. The Captain [äußerte sich am freimütigsten. He empfand überaus schmerz, sich the Russian Niederlagen, said however [schließlich: "We müssen seek peace and friendship Germany and Austria. Our soldiers are brave, but the German technology makes all bravery [zuschanden. And then... we have the French, [in erster Reihe] however ***[195]*** the English [überschätzt. Had England remained neutral, we would have had an honorable peace [vor zehn months = ten months ago ?]. And [gar the Italians! (He made a [abfällige Handbewegung].) The victory, which

our diplomacy in Rome [davontrug, is from the Italian standpoint [besehen, the greatest [Schandfleck of world history, and what the Russians [betrifft, [so] was he the [laut hinausgerufene Bekenntnis of our military and [moralischen Niederlage].” He [sann for awhile and said finally: “Hätte I da mitzureden, I would have said [?]: Give us back Libau, our only ice-free harbor along the Baltic coast, and we will conclude peace. What [suchen we schließlich in Galicia, and what [angeht us Bosnia?”

The [Fabrikant from Lodz said: “In Moscow [trägt one with the quiet hope, that western Poland [wird not mehr to Russia zurückgegeben]. The people of Lodz, Ziradow, and Warsaw [Industrie was the [Kazapen on all sides [verhaßter than the [fremdländische Konkurrenz]. [Einem solchen Frieden würden the Moskauer lieber heute als morgen zustimmen].” Both of the Poles remained for the most part silent and only from time to time [warf] a not very clear word into the discussion. ***[196]*** Perhaps they belonged to the still not [genügend Orientierten, perhaps they were just [verschüchtert.

I talked with the Captain often on his [Kommandobrücke. I had it with intelligent, [gebildeten, and [durchaus vorurteilslosen] man to [tun. He was a native [?] of the [Lobolskischen and seemed to have participated in the revolutionary movement of 1905, for he [hinwarf gelegentlich] the [Bemerkung: “I was myself once sent to Narymski Kraj, and now [befördere I other [Verbannte there.” It was no [Novum for me, for in Narym had I found several Russians, who [ständig in other parts of Siberia lived and [strafweise to Narymski Kraj had been banished. His banishment had the Russian captain like so many of his [Schicksalsgenossen his higher [Bildung to thank. In the [Einzelhaft, which the [Verschickung vorauszugehen pflegt], and in the Siberian [Einöde read and learn the [Verbannten so much, that they certainly not improved in the [Sinne of the Russian police return home again. [Beim Capitain I also found the first strong [Spuren of that Anglophobia, which many years [Nationalgut of the Russian ***[197]*** people was and after the serious defeats of 1915 was reawakened.

We [sprachen still so much about Siberia, its past and its future. A [nationaler Russian through and through, the Captain could not [verhindern it, that I from his words [leichte Anwandlungen about Siberian separatism [heraushörte, perhaps only [herausfühlte. The hatred toward Japan and the Japanese, who, as the Captain said, [auf Siberia have a [schiefgeschlitztes eye [geworfen, [sprach aus vielen Bemerkungen]. The idea of a Russian [Bündnisses with Japan, about which there was so much talk at the time, had in Siberia found little [Wohlgefallen. The Japanese? Yellow [Betrüger! That was the [Um and Auf] of all of the [Argumentationen. About the Americans, Belgians, French, and English, who during the last decade came in large numbers [?] to Siberia, the Captain likewise did not [in den Ausdrücken unbedingter] friendship. “They were by Petersburg sent

out to us [auf den Hals], so that they us here the [Rahm abschöpfen]. [Noch wissen the Leute not exactly, where the true [Reichtum of Siberia to seek is. That is our luck. If we [einmal so weit sind], that we enough [Arbeitskräfte and sufficient capital in the ***[198]*** land have, we will show what Siberia [vermag. Siberia is not Asia, it is also not — Russia, it is simply Siberia." A [eigenartiger Gedanke went through my head with these words. I verschwieg ihn vor dem Captain. Here it is now: I thought about the American Revolution, about the [Losreißung of the American colonies from their Motherland[s]. Whether Siberia [einmal the would take the same path?... I remember, that the Siberian farmer, when they talked to Russian [Verbannten, always with the words began: "By you in Russia." Also in this [Tone, in which these words were spoken, expressed not [unbedingtes Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl itself... Then I asked the Captain about the German element in Siberia. He [kam, um to fluchen, and segnete]. "The Germans, who now cost us so much blood, the Germans"... then he suddenly [hieltinne; "You have to give them one thing. They [liefern ihre Waren gut], prompt, and [preiswert. The [Tinte, the pencils, and [Federn, the [Druckknöpfe, the needles, and the [Berliner Wolle], [kurz everything that, what they [an such [Artikeln in the shops of the [entferntesten Siberian village [sahen, we got/received from the Germans. In ***[199]*** the [großen Unternehmungen] of the land have they actually still little [eingegriffen, [es sei denn], that they a few [Elektrizitätswerke built or a few [Holzbearbeitungsmaschinen have supplied."

"And the German colonists in Siberia?" I asked [weiter.

"Oh, about them [kommenlasse I nothing. They stay on the land and [schaffen dauernde Werte, their fields are the pride of Siberia, and from the [Mühlen, which they have built, comes the [prächtige flour, that we until then had absolutely [?] not known."

I was permitted to get off at the [Haltestellen. [Wie ein Lauffeuer was the news of my journey homes in all of the [Strafkolonien gedrungen], I was on the bank by the [Verbannten surrounded, and all had to I [versprechen, that I their family members about their [Befinden Kunde geben wolle]. In Togur and in Kolpaschewo I again found numerous Austrians among them and also a few Catholic [Geistliche, who from Galicia had been [verschleppt, and my [Heimatgenossen, who me [sehnsüchtig on the bank Ob awaited, could I [aus innerster Überzeugung Trost zusprechen]. Also for them [sei the hour of the journey home near/close, and it [sei ***[200]*** offenbar] only [auf the [Mißwirtschaft by the Russian [Behörden zurückzuführen], if the [Verständigung for they still not [herabgelangt sei]. My [Vermutung was [übrigens a [richtige.

Also captured Austrians and German soldiers [begegnete I along the way from Narym to Tomsk. Our soldiers were [zwar fortunately not sent to Narymski Kraj, but they were [vielfach used as workers on

the small [Lastendampfern, others [verstärken the Mennonite worker colonies in the forests near Tomsk. The Mennonites are namely due to an old privileg exempt from military service in Russia, are however to [Kriegsleistungs-Diensten in [Sanitätswesen and by [Waldarbeiten herangezogen].

Finally we reached the Tom, a [Nebenfluß of the Ob. The ship covered the way from the [Mündung until Tomsk, circa sixty [Werst, in a [Nachtfahrt. On a Thursday I saw the [Zwiebelkuppeln of the many churches of Tomsk in the [Morgensonne blinken]. The ship stopped, and in the first newspaper that I purchased, I read a long [Lobeshymne about the Russian [Heeresleitung, which [sich so glänzend] about Brest-Litowsk [zurückzuziehen verstanden habe], ***[201]*** always the secret plan [festhaltend, the enemy into inner Russia to [locken and him then, like Napoleon the First in 1812, [endgültig to annihilate...

Tomsk still today [refers to itself ?] to this day proudly the main/capiatl city of Siberia. [Sie is it however no longer. The Siberian railroad had Tomsk [entthront. [Sie ließ it [seitwärts liegen]. The [Tomsker today/now say still [voll Wut], the [Ingenieure should have to much [?] [Bakschisch verlangt] and, when they it not received, [hätten they the [Trasse by Taiga, eighty kilometers from Tomsk distant, [vorbeigeführt. A [Sackbahn from Taiga to Tomsk, which was built later, could the [Sache no longer [gutmachen. Also those/the, [übrigens [unvollständige, university and the Technological Institute, which soon afterwards for the [Entschädigung of the [gekränkten city were established, [vermochten it not to [verhindern, that the Siberian [Handel sich] new centers in Nowo Nikolajewsk and in Wladiwostok [aufsuchte.

[Äußerlich unterscheidet sich] Tomsk little from the cities of central or east Russia. Tula, Samara, Saratow, or Kasan have the same character. I saw Tomsk [flüchtig in winter, [da gefiel es mir recht gut]. I had five weeks in [allerhand] prisons and ***[202]*** in the [Arrestantenwaggon zugebracht] and [ansah] Tomsk, which lay in snow and ice [eingebettet], almost as a big city. In the summer I was disappointed. The large churches, which, like in all other Russian cities, have their own [Heiligen — the Russian [Synod is [aus Gründen der Gegenseitigkeit] in the [Heiligsprechung not very [sparsam —, [boten to me nothing [Auffälliges, obgleich] the [Entstehung to the [Teil until in the year 1683 — the year that Tomsk was founded — [zurückreicht, and the [ebenso langen wie staubigen] streets, which [meist are flanked by wooden houses, brings one to the [Bewußtsein, that Tomsk is situated six thousand kilometers distant from central Europe. This distance can the [hübschen European [Gotteshäuser, which the Protestants, Catholics, and Jews have built, [ebensowenig wegtäuschen], as the [paar] modern [Bauten in [sündhaft übertriebenem Sezessionsstil].

Tomsk is [allen Teilnehmern an der revolution of 1905 in [grauenhafter memory. With help of the “Schwarzen Hundert”, at whose head stood a [Tomsker Zündhölzchenfabrikant], [trieb the Tomsker police on day four hundred and fifty workers and students, [welche had a red flag [entfaltet and ***[203]*** marched/went singing through the street, in an old, [leerstehendes, from wood constructed theater [hinein and [anzündete sodann] this theater on all four corners. None of the demonstrators escaped with their lives. [Merkwürdige Gegensätze! and [dennoch this same Tomsk elected the [radikal-liberalen politician Nekrassow to the Duma, who [im letzten summer from the [Kadettenpartei austrat], because it to him too much with the [reaktionär angehauchten] nationalists [liebäugelte...

The Isprawnik, the police chief of the Tomsker [Landbezirkes, a region/territory, that [beträchtlich larger than all of Germany, [amtierte in a one-story wood building. He [empfing me not [unfreundlich, when I by him in [Begleitung of the Nazoratils [vorsprach, in order to me the “Prochodnoje Swiadeielstwo”, the [Passierschein to Petersburg, [ausstellen to lassen]. He [verlangte bloß, I should because of [Erledigung of the [Förmlichkeiten [erst travel the next day. The [Fahrbillett and the [Platzkarte however, I had to [gleich lösen] and to him the number of the ticket [bekanntgeben. This number was probably [gemeldet worden an] all of the larger stations along the four thousand five hundred kilometer long [Strecke Tomsk—Petersburg. ***[204]***

I [also = thus] remained in Tomsk for two days. Three Hotels, [vor denen I vorfuhr], did not want to [aufnehmen] me, a smaller inn on the edge of the city took it upon themselves, [wegen my [Beherbergung with the police [irgendwie to be [fertig. [Tagsüber schlenderte I through the wide streets of Tomsk. While I in the winter many Austrian soldiers and also several officers[begegnet war], who were allowed to move around very freely, I saw this time only [vereinzelte Austrian officers and small groups of soldiers, who under stricter guard [rasch toward a specific [Ziel losgingen]. Of the two Austrian officers one of them wore a [Reisekappe auf dem Kopfe]. The [Offizierskappe was [ihm offenbar] at/during a [Sturmangriff vom Kopfe geschossen worden]. My way/route led me also to pass by the [Offiziersgefangenhaus], a [niederen verwitterten wood barracks, [an deren] small windows the Austrian officers sat and [träumerisch hinauslugten]. The next day I saw the same officers being transported away on foot. Through another street [einzogen, escorted by Russian soldiers, German officers. A “Garnisonswechsel” was taking place. It was the time of the worst/most difficult Russian defeats/setbacks, and the ***[205]*** Russian military [verwaltung had this [Umzüge angeordnet], so that the inhabitants would believe, that ever new transports of prisoners were being brought in... I also saw the [neuausgehobenen recruits moving through the city. [Man blickte

ihnen mitleidig nach], and when I in a shop entered in order to purchase a few things, I heard a [Kommis saying to the second: “Like to the slaughterhouse! They too will spill their blood — to what end?” [An my [Aussprache erkannte man] me to be a foreigner. I [angab auf Befragen, that I had been exchanged and via Sweden and Germany to Vienna was travelling. [Man bestürmte me with more questions: “When will this [unglückselige war end? Is it true that Germany [unannehmbare Forderungen stellt]? We have indeed just with the Germans so well lived/got along.”

At nine o’clock in the evening I rode/drove out to the train station, which is situated far outside of the city. The journey took longer than an hour through the [in undurchdringlicher Finsternis liegenden holperigen] and endless [Gassen. At the train station I was awaited by a [Nazoratil, who [infolge the [Auftrages of the Isprawnik [dabei sein sollte], as I in the to Petersburg [abgehenden train boarded. ***[206]*** The good Isprawnik was by the [merkwürdigen Angst befallen, I [könnte it [vorziehen, to remain in Tomsk. The Nazoratil [entfernte himself however already before the departure of the train, after he his [Trinkgeld in [Empfang genommen] and to me under [unzähligen Bücklingen “Glückliche Reise” had wished. I went over to the [polizeiliche Obhut] of the [Gendarmerie. In Tomsk a Gendarmerie-Unteroffizier got on with me and patrolled before my compartment so [auffällig], that my travel companions elbowed each other and looked at me with distrust. I went out to the man [hinaus and and said to him: “I have nothing against it, that you escort and guard me, however then do you it only openly and sit with me.” From then on [ablösten sich] the [Gendarmen] at the larger stations without much [Aussehen], and the [jeweilige] watchers [aufhielt themselves in the neighboring [Waggon].

The journey took/lasted for a full six [?] days. It went until Tscheljabinsk with the Siberian train and from there via Perm, Elisabethgrad, Wjatka, and Wologda with the Russian northern train. The [Bahnspur] runs almost without interruption through the [Nadelwälder], which are [schlecht gehalten], and the [verwahrlosten Schonungs- and Wiederaussorstungs- ***[207]*** flächen hindeuten darauf], that the Russian [Verwaltung] these immense [Holzreichtum] cannot [nutzen]. At all of the larger stations [stattfand] all of the [Fahrgäste] stormed for the [Büfett] and in particular for the [“Kipiatok”], which [stets bereitgehaltene] hot tea water. Since I did not participate in the race, I often had to return hungry to the car.

The [Mitreisenden conversed at the time much about war and peace, and since the train travelers of various [Stände beförderte, could I [damals a deeper view of the [Stimmung of the Russian people [tun.

I spoke little, but heard much. One young girl, a [Gymnasiastin], who with her parents from Irkutsk to Petersburg rode, bought at a

station [Extraausgaben, read the reports of the Russian General Staff, [zerknüllte it and threw them [weinend away. Her mother discovered suddenly an interesting part in the newspaper. She read it aloud to the daughter and [fügte hinzu: "Siehst du also, before Petrograd there is no danger." The girl shook her head, then she said with [herbem and [trotzigem Lächeln]: "[Don Marschau said man us also, that it would never fall into the hands of the enemy... I don't believe anything anymore, I ***[208]*** only believe, that [sich our Fatherland [verblutet..."

Two students, who via Wologda to Moskau [fuhren, [führten in my [Abteil a [halblautes discussion. "In this Germans [steckt a [unbezwingbare Kraft]," said the one, "we will never defeat them, it would be setter, if we would make them our friends. [Denken Sie doch, what that for a [Bündnis would be: Germany, Austria, Russia..." Then they came to talking about the street revolts in Moscow, that they had [miterlebt... "I have never the [bestimmte Gefühl los werden können]," said the second, "that the [Aufstand was [arrangiert. A [Wink at the [Bundesgenossen, that we our troops in the [Innern brauchen könnten], a [Ausrede vor dem Inlands, wenn es] at the front [weiter schlecht gehen sollte]..."

In the train [mitfuhr also an Englishman. He always had a pipe in his mouth and at every station went on the [Perron. His spouse was with him. She served as his translator, [indem she [sich with the [Mitreisenden and the [Bahnrestaurateuren in the German language to [verständigen suchte]. A General, who with a [Oberstleutnant vor the Wagen plauderte], said ***[209]*** out loud: "Thus are the English, they're always smoking their pipes, [bewegen sich from time to time [geschäftig back and forth and fight until to the last Russian man. The Germans, who come to our land, soon learn our language, the English, however, learn German here..."

In Wologda a gentleman boarded, who came from Archangelsk. He [vorstellte himself to me [im Laufe] of the [Gespräches: His name was [soundso and was a [Großkaufmann in Petersburg. An Armenian from Tiflis was our third travel companion. One naturally talked about the war. The Armenian told me, that he had been in Austria and was glad [wahrgenommen, that his [Volksgenossen had had it very good there. Then a new newspaper in the [Abteil. [Große Überraschung]: Nikolai Nikolajewitsch and his Chief of General Staff were transferred to the Caucasus, the Tsar had taken over Supreme Command. What did that mean? That means peace, said the businessman from Petersburg. He attempted to [seine Meinung begründen], and [ausholte weit]. The [weiten Rede enger Sinn] was to the effect: The Tsar is not to be made responsible for the dreadful failures of the last months, he [rettet, what can be saved, and can then say to his people: I have the best peace ge- ***[210]*** schlossen, which [angesichts the [begangenen] errors was possible... He can say: I have given peace to the Russian people. Then I could [feststellen, that until to the

[heutigen Tag] in Russia the [Meinung] is widely held [?], the Tsar wanted still in October of the previous year to peace [schließen wollen, the [großfürstliche Oberkommandierende] had been opposed to this. [Zögernd, however with [fest ins Auge sehend, hinzufügte] my [Gewährsmann: “You have certainly heard about that? The [Großfürst drohte damals], to march with his Army to Petersburg, if peace was [had been] made against his will.”

I had indeed heard about this. One [erzählt sich in Russia [so vielerlei, that to me absolutely not [registrierenswert to seemed to be.

With a four hour delay/late arrival the train arrived at the Nikolajewer train station in Petersburg. The [düstere, not very clean [Halle was devoid of people. Hardly had I detrained, when [sich also already the [Begleitgendarm before me [aufpflanzte and me [aufforderte, to follow him. He led me into the train station’s [Gendarmeriewachtstube, where at first he allowed me to take a seat [?] in the [Vorzimmer of the Kommandanten. An NCO ***[211]*** [verwies me however in the [Hausflur. I did not feel myself [beleidigt. The same NCO, the [Typus of a Russian [Fanatikers, who indeed is himself not at the front, however [möglichst many Germans and Austrians would like to kill, [versuchte mich to a political debate to [reizen. I [verhielt mich ablehnend]. When he, however, after a lengthy [Wortschwall and [ungehalten over my silence in [schreiendem Tone said to me, that Russia not [eher peace would [schließen, until it not Galicia for itself “abgeschnitten” had, I said to him: “Schneiden Sie, wenn Sie können, but leave me at peace/alone.” At this moment the commandant was passing through the [Hausflur. He cast a [flüchtigen glance at me and said to the NCO: “What am I supposed to do with him, hand him over to the police!” After a few minutes appeared [also a Gorodowoj, who led me to the police [wachtstube at the [Bahnhofplatz. He also had my [Gepäck sent over there. I should remain there until the Pristaw toward six o’clock would come and [bestimmen, was mit mir to geschehen habe]. In vain [berief I to the [Passierschein of the Isprawnik from Tomsk, which was supposed to guarantee me a manner of [freiem Geleite]. I ***[212]*** remained at the police [wachtstube, which was my ninth prison in Russia. However, it was [ebenso kurz wie fidel]. Since [until the arrival of the Pristaw [noch two hours fehlten] and the [wachthabende policeman themselves [offenbar langweilte, he absperrte] me in the [zur ebenen Erde gelegenen Gemach] and [entfernte sich]. In the window, which looked out onto the [Bahnhofplatz, was a pane open, and since I had nothing else to do, I performed Russian police duty. First I took from a [Briefträger mail [entgegen. Then came a Gorodowoj and handed me a few [Rapporte through the window, [deren Empfang I ihm bestätigen mußte]; a [Droschkenkutscher stieg vom Bock herunter and trug mir, vor dem window stehend, a umfangreiche grievances about a colleague. I patiently listened to him and promised to help [?]. The

Kutscher was very surprised to be treated so politely by me. He wanted to slip me a paper rubel [in the Hand], but to his even greater surprise I did not allow myself to be [bestechen]. He left shaking his head.

At about six o'clock came [wohl not the Pristaw, rather a Pomotschnik of the [gestrengen gentleman. He read my [Passierschein and went to the ***[213]*** train station, in order in the [Kanzlei of the Gradonatschalik (Stadthauptmann) per telephone [anzufragen, what was going to happen to me. He returned with the [Bescheid, that the [Kanzlei had been closed since four o'clock, and that the [Portier's] opinion had been, the police [müßte mich einstweilen] in their [Obhut nehmen]. He was of the same opinion, wherefore I myself under police escort [samt Reisegepäck auf den Utschastok begab]. The Pristaw, who now [beamtshandelte] me, read the [Passierschein several times, after which the following discussion developed between us:

"That is a very dumb [ausgestellter Reisepaß, I do not understand it and do not know, what I am supposed to do with/make of it, — but if a Russian Pristaw does not know, what he should do with a person, he [einsperrt] him. Do you understand what I mean?"

"Oh, about the [Eingesperrtsein have I myself by you in Russia already [gewöhnen müssen], but I can [Ihnen a [besseres, by us in Austria [gebräuchliches Rezept empfehlen]. By us [bestraft one the [Beamten, who a [Sache wissentlich falsch erledigt], and not the [Partei."

To that the Pristaw:

"Your [Rezepte taugen nichts. The Isprawnik ***[214]*** is a [höherer Beamter than I and resides in Tomsk, you, however, are an Austrian, what is [an sich schon a Missetat], you I have here and you [einsperre I eben]."

In such [wohlgesetzter Rede and Gegenrede vollzog sich] my [neuerliche Verhaftung]. I entered my tenth prison. It was, as we would soon learn, still not the last, however thirty-seven hours long was it the [furchtbarste unter the [furchtbaren.

Before I was in the prison of the Utschasiok led away, the Pristaw, who was [offenbar well [aufgelegt, invited me to an evening meal, ie. he [gestattete to me, at my own expense from a nearby restaurant a [Abendessen holen to lassen]. In the [von Parteien aller Art, Lohnkutschern, Prostituierten and Zuhältern], fairly densely packed room went the Herr Pristaw like a [gespreizter Pfau auf and ab and schlug jedesmal a Rad]. He [zwinkerte with the [keinen Äuglein, legte jedesmal] a finger from his right hand on the [Georgskreuz, which he in the year 1877 [erworben haben wollte], and [drohte me, more in a monologue than in [Doppelrede, with a further three-year duration of the war. Then he allowed me to be led away. A clerk accompanied ***[215]*** me through many [Winkelkorridore

and [über numerous steps into the police prison.

I [umbat the [journalführenden Beamten] a [anständige cell.

“The best that I have,” [meinte er], but here I was once again [gründlich durchsucht], however I [anzwinkerte the policeman and he [ließ mir — not to his Schaden — a few paper and silver rubels in the [Westentasche. Then it went into a prison. I came in the “Sutotschnoja”

Here I must a [Augenblick innehalten]. I cannot write [more]. In the [Schläfen hämmert] it me [wieder and durch Übelkeiten verursachte Atembeschwerden suchen mich wieder heim].

The Sutotschnoja is situated [hart am Klosett, [bei dessen Betreten] I [entsetzt zurückprallte], and had [seinen Namen from seiner Bestimmung]. It served as [provisorisches prison for [aufgegriffene Verbrecher], hoboes, vagabonds, [Trunkenbolde, Petersburger Apachen, shortly before the [Abschaum of the [Abschaums. They remained only a “Sutka” (twenty-four hours) and were then handed over to the [zuständigen Behörden]. The entire [Mobiliar consisted of a [harren Pritsche], upon which six peo- ***[216]*** ple [notdürftig] room could/would be able to find. When I entered, I [umfaßte] my new companions with a quick glance: ten people were already there. I was greeted with a loud ‘hullo’. One immediately asked me, whether I was also wearing [richtige Wäsche] under the [schönen Anzug]. The air was thick, foul-smelling, [stickig, and hot. Even before I could enter into negotiations for a spot, the door opened was several times in succession and a new man pushed in. In the end there were nineteen of us. A few immediately crawled under the [Pritsche and there [schnarchten aloud. Two played cards on the back of a third and [bewarfen sich ununterbrochen] with the [unflätigsten] curse words. I stood [noch immer eingekeilt] between three, [sichtbar von Ungeziefer strotzenden] hoboes and held a [Handtasche and a [Reisepölsterchen] in hand, [stumm and starr].

Then came the “Prowerka”. The [Herr prison director allowed all of the prison doors to be opened, in order to [kontrollieren. I [bahnte to me with the elbows a path, [trat hinaus] and said to the Herr Director: “I am a citizen of Austria who is returning home [auf Grund of a exchange. I do not ***[217]*** know, wherefore I was again [eingesperrt], but could you to me not at least a better cell [zuweisen?“ Then [ankam I schön]. A frightful rage [erfaßte the Herr [Vorstand: “What,” he screamed [zornbebend], “for our Russian is the cell good and for a dog from [?] Austrian not?... [Pack’ ihn]“, he called to the policeman. The latter [machte Anstalten, to grab me by the [Kragen] in order me into the cell [hineinzuschleudern. Now [verließ mich the Besinnung. I felt as though blood into the head and eyes [schoß, and I heard myself like with {fremder and heiserer, very [entstellter voice calling: “Rühr’ mich not an, or es geschieht ein Unglück]!“ Handtasche and Polster were my hands [entglitten and in

my [ganzen Haltung scheint etwas gelegen] to have, wovor Director and [Polizist scheu zurückwichen]. The former [murmelte halblaut: "That appears to be a [rabiater Mensch, like all Germans, [laß ihn, er wird schon selbst hineingehen]." I [ging hinein. My cellmates, who had witnessed the scene, this time [verhielten themselves [mäuschenstill. They made space for me, [so weit es ging], and [vor dem Fenster], in which a primitive ventilation [fungierte, [ließen sie mich stehen]. I leaned myself against the wall, turned ***[218]*** my face to the ventilator and so stood I until the following morning and after a [Pause of an half hour until the noon of the next day, unmoving and without saying a word. In the afternoon the cell [emptied ?] and I initially was alone. Then a man was brought in, who Maxim Gorki for [dessen Nachtasyl Modell gestanden haben mußte]. [Auch to him [dürfte the "Alkohol den Organon vergiftet" haben. He laid down on his back, [kreuzte the Arme über dem Kopfe] and began to philosophize. He was, in fact, talking to himself, however [meinte mich].

"Das hast du dumm gemacht, Väterchen, very dumb. How [kamst du da herein, among us lost souls? ..... Could you not help it? [Wsie wsiatotschnij], alle sind Nehmer" .... Er zog the Hände hervor and began to count with his fingers [?] [an den Fingern to demonstrieren]. "The Gorodowoj hast du with two Rubels gekauft," he raised up two Finger. "The Pormotschnik nimmst du mit three, the Pristaw with five, the Isprawnik with ten" — then he [klatschte mehrmals] in the Hände. "And the Minister? [Auch sie nehmen; only [im Betrag liegt] the [Unterschied .... speak only with the people, then you [kommst] out of this [Pfuhl." ***[219]***

However, I still remained during the following night in the cell. I [verbrachte it like the [vorhergehende. On the following morning [setzte I myself with the "Starschina", a [Häftling, who [gewissermaßen Zellenältester is and provisions for the other [Häftlinge feilhat, in [Verbindung. [Dieser wußte mir einige Erleichterungen to verschaffen]. I remained in his cell and [unterhielt mich] with him. He gave me a book to read. It was a novel by Arthur Schnitzler, I believe "Intermezzo" was the [Übertragung entitled. [Ladenpreis: ten Kopeken. Then [durchsetzte he [beim Ober-Nazoratil], that [dieser mir] for the coming night a [Unterkunft in the [Karzer, which is [sonst zur Zähmung] of the [Widerspenstigen bestimmt], in [Aussicht stellte]. [Dort hoffte I [bei offenem window [auf der Diele schlafen] to [können. I [umsah mich] also a little in the [Polizeigefängnis. Auffallend] large was the number of the [verhafteten Schuster]. Since by the Russian army a great shortage of [Schuhwerk herrschte], were by the police [unter the [nichtigsten Vorwänden] countless [Schuster, Meister, and Gesellen, arrested and administrative sentenced from three to six months in prison. Then they had to for a few Kopeks per day [Stiefel erzeugen... ***[220]***

I [sollte gerade] my detention cell [aussuchen], when two policemen appeared, in order me to [abzolen]. “Finally it’s time to go home,” said I [freudestrahlend] to the Starschina. The policemen smiled, but so [eigentümlich], that I again became [stutzig]. The reason for the [Lächelns] I was soon to find out. I was brought to a [geschlossenen Wagen], and after a half-hour duration the journey ended before a large [kasernenartigen] building, the [Gittertor] was opened and the cart drove through several [düstere Höfe]. Before a five storey house, in which small [vergitterten] windows pigeons [nisteten], the wagon stopped. In the [Vorraum], in which I was brought, already sat waiting a young man. I [zusetzte] myself to him and [anknüpfte] with him a [Gespräch]. He [sei] a Latvian worker from Riga and along with ten thousand other residents had been driven out of this city by the Police when the Germans were approaching it. On the way he had found a revolutionary proclamation and had put it in a pocket. [Auf] a [Denunziation hin] had he been [verhaftet] and was brought to this most [furchtbarste] prison in Russia.

“Furchtbarstes Gefängnis?“ asked I [erstaunt], “for which reason [denn?” ***[221]***

“Don’t you know that it’s the prison for the most dangerous criminals and [vertritt the [aufgelassenen Verließe] of the Peter-Pauls-Festung.”

I was very numb and mumbled [vor mich hin]: “Then I don’t understand why I was brought here.”

“[Wahrscheinlich] also for a [Denunziation hin],“ said the Latvian.

Under these [auspices was I in my [Cachot] brought. After all of my money had been taken from me in the [Büro], [übergab] one me to a [Starschy], who led me to a [Eisenbetonschacht]. Along the one wall [führen] in six [Stockwerken] through [steile] [Wendeltreppen] with one another [verbundene] iron [Galerien], which the [Zugänge] to the [einzelnen Kästen bilden], which the cells [darstellen]. I was assigned to Number 175.

Sixty-one days, that is, a full two months, have [?] I in this cell [zugebracht], alone, all alone.

It would be a [recht verlockende Aufgabe], to recount/describe these days, [eingehend] to write down, what inside of me [vorging], and what I [an mir], after [sich] the [ursprüngliche Aufregung gelegt] had, could observe, what to me in lonely sleep- ***[222]*** less nights went through my mind and how I passed the days, but this for the [Kriminalisten], the [Psychologen], and the [Nerven-Pathologen] perhaps not uninteresting account [ginge] far beyond the [Rahmen hinaus], within which this [anspruchslosen Zeilen] their purpose shall fulfill. Perhaps find I later [einmal] the [Muße] and the [Gelegenheit], still something about that to tell.

This time only a few [Federstriche]. [Äußere Vorgänge, Gespräche.

The Starschy, who searched me, said to me [tröstend]:

“[Regen Sie sich not auf, my Täubchen, we have already brought many such gentlemen here: German and Austrian [Konsuln, who three to four months here remained, before we allowed them to go home, generals and even Russian [Stadthauptmänner. Why you are here, I do not know, [das angeht mich auch gar nichts], [mir obliegt es bloß]. You [gründlich to verschließen and dafür to sorgen], that you your cell yourself in order maintain, also that you with no one in [Verbindung treten] and allow no newspapers or books to be smuggled in.”

Once, when he me in the “*Zeuchaus*”, this is what the [Zeughaus] is called in Russian, [führte], [damit] I out ***[223]*** of my Koffer new [Wäsche hole], came he to me also political. He [meinte]:

“The Austrians [wären ja] not unsympathetic people, but what can that for a state be, if there also Poles [ffei wirtschaften dürfen], — O these Poles!”

To the man [anschwoll] the [Zornesader] and he [fortfuhr]:

“I hate the Poles, and our [gnädiger] Gossudar, the Tsar — God grant him a long life and victory over his enemies — the Tsar himself has the Poles also nothing [versprochen], [lieber] the Germans…”

He grew silent and [verriet] to me not [weiter] his [innerste] opinion over the Germans. Only after a long pause he said:

“You are to me almost [lieber] than the English. We have [doch] with the Germans so good lived.“

The first three days I hungered. The soup, which to me through the small [verschließbare] opening in the door was handed, smelled so dreadful, that I gladly [ablehnte] it. I drank tea, in which I dipped bread crusts. On a Tuesday began the [Lieferung] of [Nahrungsmitteln] at my own expense. Only on a Tuesday can one [damit beginnen], for ***[224]*** nothing is so strictly regulated in Russia as the [Willkür]. The food was, incidentally, good, and since I had nothing else to do, I noticed that after four weeks, that I again began to [anzusetzen Fett].

I fed the pigeons that came to my window, [indem I them bread crumbs through the open pane handed/reached. When one me thereby [ertappte, it was to me [strengstens untersagt. It [sei the [Wahrnehmung gemacht worden, that sich the prisoners in this [Weise untereinander verständigen]. The pigeons were, however, well-fed. The prisoners [hielten sich offenbar] not to the ban. [Im übrigen] during the night a secretive knocking went through all the cells. Also a [Verständigungsmittel]. I did it not to me [angeeignet].

After five weeks of solitary confinement I learned by chance that my companions [in fate] from Czernowitz [tags zuvor] likewise had been [here [eingeliefert].

Since I [auf] four letters, which I out of the [Kerker] an den amerikanischen Botschafter richtete, endlich the kurze Verständigung erhalten had, that only still the arrival of a sixth gentleman [abgewartet werde], [damit] we over the border [gebracht würden], [übermittelte] I [auf] ***[225]*** very [abenteuerliche] manner this news also to the mayor Dr. Weißelberger, who found himself in the [drittnächsten] cell.

I was allowed to go for a walk every day. Through a [Spalter] of Gefängnisaufsehern [lief] I through a dark corridor in a [Holzschacht], which [sich] from my cell only [darin unterschied], that it [etwas] larger was and that a [Stück bewölkten] sky in it [hineinblickte]. In this [Schacht durfte] I thirty minutes back and forth go, again all alone and from all of the others [streng gesondert].

The Ganze machte the Eindruck of a unbeweglichen Karussels. With gravitätischer Würde gingen oben the Gefangenenaufseher im Kreise herum and called from time to time to the in ihren Schächten auf and ablaufenden Häftlingen a few word hinunter, which I did not understand. Wahrscheinlich waren it Verweise. I made out of these Gefangenenaufsehern my Porträtstudien. The oldest with the long grey beard looked similar [spitting image] to the Serbian Premier Pasitsch. Another could be for a Doppelgänger of the King of England gehalten werden. He had wenig drein to reden.

About my pigeons must I still something [erzählen]. I continued to feed them despite the ban ***[226]***. I had myself a [Stammgast erworben, who several times per day came to my window and with the forcefully tapped against the pane with his beak if I didn’t notice him. It was a [scheinbar sanftes, ewig girrendes Täubchen. But in the [Gemütsverfassung dieser as sanft verschrieenen animal I soon discovered [unerwartete Saiten]. Ein langer Täubrich with strohblondem neck and cold eyes [ließ sich each time on the [Fensterbrett erst nieder, wenn mehrere pigeons versammelt waren and um the Brotkrumen to raufen begannen. With geschicktem Griff erwischte he each time the crumbs that the others [stritten, whereby they many feathers left behind. The [Täubrich looked like an Englishman.

For three weeks was I already in [Einzelhaft, when I from the Pomotschik, who in my cell appeared, in order to [nachzusehen, whether I it also clean enough maintained, learned, that I was also allowed to have books. Allerdings it was not allowed to be German books, which since the outbreak of war not [verabfolgt werden]. One brought to me a catalog, and I selected from the [ziemlich reichhaltigen and not uninteresting French [Bücherei, that [sich durchaus aus gifts from [Häftlingen zusammensetzt, a few numbers. The French Revolution literature is in this library [reichhaltig ***[227]*** vertreten. One darf ja in Russia also be a social democratic, only one may not belong to a party. The membership in a social democratic

party [wird with Zuchthaus up to twenty years [bestraft, who however [bloß in Verdachte sieht, social democratic Gesinnungen to hegen, kommt with einiges years Siberia davon ... How have I myself an den Weisheiten of the Sancho Pansa in these [einsamen days delektiert! I felt myself [übrigens to the seligen Cervantes geistesverwandt. He wrote his [Don Quichote in prison, and I read him again in the [Einzelhaft. It was a good French translations, and I laughed out loud time and again. The [Gefangenenaufseher schob the Klappe of the Guckloches weg and lachte mit...

I wußte mir also a few [Besuche to verschaffen. I said, that I wanted to write a letter and that I could not write in Russian. With these visitors [unterhielt I mich by these Gelegenheiten for a half hour.

A Petersburger Hausmeister was the first, who my Privatsekretär machte. He came [selbstverständlich immediately to talk about the war. He had two sons and three brothers in the field, one of them was even an NCO with a Staff. He therefore had to know everything. ***[228]***

The [Hausmeister said to me:

„In my opinion [könnte the peace zustände kommen, if one from Russia keine Kriegsentschädigung verlangen würde]. We have spilled so much blood, that we not still [draufzahlen können]. An the Siegesberichte, which now from the theatres of war come, believe I [zwar] not [recht]. But I believe, that, if the Tsar a few larger successes [beschieden sein sollten], the peace [zustande kommen könnte]. [Hätte] I in Germany and Austria to [befehlen], would I say: [Gehet absichtlich] a little back, so that it means, our army [habe] the enemy driven back — and then could peace be concluded."

A young man, who [übrigens] spoke excellent German and had also lived for several years in Vienna as an [Elektrotechniker], related to me the conditions in Petersburg [grau in grau]. Food shortages have [sich eingestellt, in the army reigns [Verdrossenheit and Unzufriedenheit, the garrison of Petersburg had to be changed every week[/from week to week], however, despite this, he did not believe peace would come soon.

"The [Elend and the [Jammer in the west of Russia have reached a degree that can no longer be [übertroffen]. That means: ***[229]*** [Schlimmeres] can [gar] not more come. [Folglich können] we the war [weiterführen]. The so-called refugees are happy, if they in [irgendeinem] of the prisons have found accommodation. They [beneiden] their [Verwandten], who already a year ago had been banished to Siberia. There you have peace. [Don] the thousand [Häftlingen], who themselves in this [Hause befinden], are five hundred [Simulanten]. They [simulieren] political and [gemeine Verbrechen], in order/about to be allowed to over the period/duration of the war to here remain. [Wer soll] in this point in time [zum Frieden

drängen]? There are thousands and thousands of people who the moment of the [Friedensschlusses fear…"

When I was back in my cell alone, I thought about whether [sich] the [bewegende] energy for the impending peace indeed somewhere in Russia could be found. I saw it nowhere and said aloud:

"It must also against Russia until the end be fought."

When I once very impatient [geworden]. Nach dem Starschy verlangte and diesen ersuchte, he should give me a [numeriertes writing paper, so that I from the Gradonatschalnik my [weiteren Passierschein] to Sweden [verlange], the man ***[230]*** looked me almost [wohlwollenden] in the eyes and [hielt] to me the following [Standpredigt]:

"I will speak to you not as a Russian [Beamter], rather as another person. [Was sind Sie so hitzig]? Do you believe that Russia now no more to do has than [sich] about you to [kümmern]? You [behaupten], that you are sick, and believe that one you for this reason earlier will allow back home. [Behüte]! First we will [kurieren] you in our manner, the sick people [herausgeben] we not. And if you, what [ja] [möglich] and [sogar] probably is, on day die, [schaffen] we you [halt] in the [Lotenkammer] and the next day [werden] you [verscharrt]. Have I with you not [menschlich] spoken?"

I could against this [durchschlagende] argumentation nothing [Vorbringen] and [verzichtete auf] the letter to the [Gradonatschalnik].

In regards to tea drinking I must still something [erwähnen]. Three times per day one [bekommt] hot water in the cell [zugestellt], so that one therewith can prepare tea. For no Russian can live without his tea. Jules Lemaître, I believe, once said: "Le samovar et le repentir," is the entire [Wesen] of Russians. At first I found this hot water to be a [Belästigung], ***[231]*** but soon [ertappte] I myself thereby, I like a dog [gleich], who before his little hut waits for food, before the door stood, in the [ausgestreckten] hand the [Blechgefäß haltend], when the steps of the [Aufsehers became audible and he from cell to cell his "Kipiatok" called. I drank the tea [leidenschaftlich gerne], for the ["chinesische Heu" berauschte mich schließlich], and I saw, if I a few glasses hot tea [hinuntergestürzt] had, [hoffnungsfreudiger] of the [Befreiungsstunde entgegen]. Four glasses sufficed, [damit] I suddenly in myself the [Bedürfnis] felt, [leichten Fußes] through the room to go and a little tune whistled.

Also [an] this life had I myself already accustomed. One [erträgt] more, when one [seinen Kräften zutraut]. This was has it us [gelehrt]. I do not know whether he a [großes Geschlecht vorgefunden] has, but that he our generation strong to make understand, that I know [bestimmt].

One evening I was summoned into the [Büro zur Abrechnung]: tomorrow it went home. How the [Weitere abspielte], is actually

beside the point/not important. We were taken to the Finnish train station, in put in a car with [geblendeten Scheiben], at the Finnish ***[232]*** border once again [gründlichst durchsucht], and then we rode 48 hours long to Torneo on the Swedish border opposite Haparanda.

As friendly and [liebenswürdig] that the reception in Sweden was, I could [an mir keinerlei Gefuhlsausbrüche wahrnehmen]. I did not kiss the [steten] ground of Sweden, that I [betrat], and I did not [jauchzte hellauf]. In silence and in [mich gekehrt] I rode to Stockholm. I was so dreadfully tired.

additional information:
https://archive.org/details/austriahungarywa00ludwrich